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TWO STATUES OF PALLAVA KINGS
AND FIVE PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS
IN A ROCK-TEMPLE AT
MAHABALIPURAM

BY

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(c) The Paurānic verse on the ten Avatāras of Vishṇu.

(d) Label at the top of the Royal group—Simhavishṇu and his two queens.

(e) Label on the top of the Royal group—Mahēndravarman and his two queens.

,, II. Right side—Simhavishṇu and his two queens.

Left side—Mahēndravarman and his two queens.

TWO STATUES OF PALLAVA KINGS AND FIVE PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS IN A ROCK- TEMPLE AT MAHABALIPURAM.

IN November, 1922, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., while acting as Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, paid an official visit to **Mahabalipuram** (**Māmallapura** as stated in its inscriptions or **Māvalivaram** as it is popularly called) to make a further search for inscriptions and images in the rock-cut temple of **Ādivarāha-Perumāl** at that historic village. Steps had no doubt been taken in the year 1912-1913 to remove the many modern mud walls that hide from view the fine old sculptures in the several cellars of the spacious rock-cut verandah in front of the central shrine of this temple. But the Madras Government decided (G.O. No. 175 Public, dated the 9th February 1914) not to interfere in the matter, on the advice of the Collector of Chingleput. Consequently, the old sculptures of the temple, so far as they were then available, including only one of the royal groups now published, could be photographed by flash light. The label explaining the latter was not then visible, although a strong suspicion as to its existence was not altogether given up. The fresh attempt of Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar has been more than successful, since another similar group of a king with two queens has also been discovered and the labels explaining both groups of images uncovered and copied. Besides these two label-inscriptions two other Pallava inscriptions in the rock-cut verandah, and an inscribed slab of the Pallava King Nandivarman Pallavamalla built into the floor outside the temple, were also secured. I have thus received, in all, from Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, 9 photographs of sculptures including that of the chief image of Varāha-Perumāl of the central shrine, the ground plan of the cave showing the rock-cut portions, modern additions, the positions of the images, the inscriptions and the rock-cut pillars, together with triplicate ink-impressions of the five new Pallava inscriptions mentioned above.¹ Photographs of the two royal groups and the five inscriptions alone are reproduced in the accompanying plates and the rest are described below.

¹ Two other inscriptions of this temple, herein called Varāhasvāmin, are already known, viz., one on the front (outer) wall (S.I.I, Vol. I, p. 126, No. 90) and another in a niche (*ibid.* p. 134 and Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, pp. 132 ff).

The rock-cut verandah of the temple is supported in the front row by four lion-based octagonal pillars and by two similar half-pillars standing against each side of the rock at its ends, and, in the back row, again, by two lion-based octagonal pillars of the type common to Pallava architecture of the period of Rājasimha-Narasimhavarman II in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. The images represented in the niches are those of—(1) **Durgā** with 8 arms, standing in the *tribhangī* posture wearing a high crown and treading with her left foot the severed head of the buffalo-demon—a beautiful group and a true copy of that given at page 200 of my ‘South-Indian Gods and Goddesses’; (2) **Sāmānya-Lakshmi**, with her feet resting one on the other, on a seat decorated with fruits and creepers. The maids carrying water-pots and unguents by the side of this Goddess, are beautifully carved, and may, judging from their head-dresses, represent the Pallava royal ladies described in the sequel. These figures are also the same as those represented in figure 118 in ‘South-Indian Gods and Goddesses’ at page 188, but more clear and elegant; (3) **Ganī gdhara**—a form of Siva of the type described at page 132 and shown in figure 86 of the same work, supporting with his right upper arm a braid of his locks on which the river Gaṅgā is supposed to descend; (4) **Brahmā**, the standing four-faced figure of the usual Pallava type (see fig. 6 in ‘South-Indian Gods and Goddesses’) and (5) and (6) **Vishnu**¹ and **Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa**,² each attended by two kneeling and worshipping figures at their feet and flanked by *dvārapālas*. One of the *dvārapālas* to the right of the Vishnu figure has a five-hooded serpent shadowing his head. This may be the serpent-God Ādiśeṣha who is always connected with the Boar-Incarnation of Vishnu.

The most interesting discoveries, however, are the historical statues,—the two groups of **Pallava royal personages** found in the two cellars of the front verandah, facing each other, on its right and left sides (Plate II). The first of these on the right side near the Sāmānya-Lakshmi group consists of a king seated on a three-legged (?) cushioned stool, in the *sukhāsana* posture, flanked by his two standing queens whose prominent jewels are the huge ear-rings and bracelets of the usual Pallava type. Both the queens wear crowns fashioned in the style known as the *karanda-makuta*, while the king himself wears the simple cap-like high crown, ear-rings, and an under-garment (*dhōtī*) tucked up at the waist as even in modern times. His right hand shows the *chinmudrā* or the contemplative posture indicating the right perception of truth.³ The legs of the seat on which the king is seated are shaped artistically like those of a lion, and it looks as if the seat was a true representation of the Pallava-*simhāsana*. Whether the ladies wear *sārīs* or not, cannot be exactly made out. The second group opposite to this is in a cellar near the Durgā group of images

¹ See “South-Indian Gods and Goddesses”, p. 20, where, however, the attendant worshippers and *dvārapālas* are not seen.

² *Ibid.* p. 128. It is very doubtful if this is a figure of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa. In his right hand Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa has to hold an axe or trident, the mark of Siva, and in his left the conch, the mark of Vishnu. Here, in the left hand is the disc instead of the conch and in the right a rosary (?) instead of the axe.

³ This posture of the hand is shown, generally, in the case of gods like Dakshināmūrti and of highly sacred ages and religious teachers.

and consists of a king and two queens, all standing, the king with his left hand holding the right hand of one of his queens—perhaps the senior—and with his right, pointing his fore finger towards the image in the central shrine. The crowns worn by the king and the queens are similar to those described in the first group, but the robe of the king and the *sārīs* of the queens are quite royal in their appearance, the former hanging in folds and showing the inner lining (?) of the robe. Besides, from the way in which the dress fits the arms, waist and breast of the figure wearing it, one is led to infer that the robe must have been cut, sewn and fitted as at the present day. In addition to the large earrings and pendants, the jewels worn by both the king and the queens include necklaces. The breast cloth is absent in the case of the ladies.

These two groups of royal personages bear, as already stated, labels at their tops. Above the group on the north side of the verandah is the following inscription in Pallava-Grantha characters (Plate I, D) :—

श्रीसिंहविरुद्धपोत्ताथिराजन् ॥

“The glorious *athirāja* (*adhirāja*) Simhavinna-Pōttra (i.e., Simhavishnu-Pōta).”¹

Above the second is the following inscription also in similar Pallava-Grantha characters (Plate I, E) :—

श्रीमहेन्द्रपोत्ताथिराजन् ॥

“The glorious *athirāja* (*adhirāja*) Mahēndra-Pōttra.”

From these labels it is evident that the groups represent the Pallava kings Simhavishnu and Mahēndra. But who were these Simhavishnu and Mahēndra ? Simhavishnu, the father of Mahēndra I, was the founder of the last ruling line of Pallavas and the first conqueror of the Chōla country about the end of the 7th century A.D., as described in the Vēlūrpälaiyam plates.² Narasimhavarman I and II—the grandson and the great-great-grandson respectively of Simhavishnu—were also known by the name Narasimhavishnu³ (or briefly Simhavishnu). Similarly Mahēndravarman I the son of Simhavishnu was the first great Pallava king, the inventor of rock-cut temples in Southern India.⁴ In the Pallava genealogy of this Simhavishnu line⁴ there are two other kings bearing the name Mahēndravarman. It is therefore difficult to say which of these groups of three similar names the representations in the niches of the Varāha-Perumāl temple exactly signify. Palaeography may, however, help us in settling the question, although the differences in writing separated by less than a century do not count for much. The characters of these records when examined carefully and compared with the remarks of Dr. Vogel given in his valuable article on the Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman at Koeti in East Borneo, show that (1) the syllable *śrī* with its rectangular shape

¹ Pōta, pōttādhirāja, pōttarasa, or pōttaraiyan was a family title of the Pallava kings and was perhaps, as suggested by Prof. Hultzsch, connected with the Tamil *pōttu* or Skt. *pallava* ‘the sprout’ from which this line of kings is supposed to have sprung; see S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 341 n. Adhirāja as defined in ancient Sanskrit works, was a rank obtainable among kings; see the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao’s notes on “Kings, Crowns etc.,” in the *Modern Review* for February 1917, pp. 150 ff.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 510, v. 10.

³ Dr. Fleet’s *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 323, Table.

⁴ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 506, Table.

is closely allied to what appears in the Koeti inscriptions and in the Dharmarāja-Ratha inscriptions at Mahābalipuram;¹ (2) that *ma*, though without its characteristic indenture (or as Bühler terms it, the notching of the base line) at the bottom, is like the one found in some of the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I, (e.g., see plate facing p. 12 in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII and plate facing p. 152 in *ibid.* Vol. IV); that (3) *ha* is exactly similar to what we find in the Maṇḍagappaṭṭu inscription of Vichitrachitta (Mahēndravarman I): and (4) that so also is the letter *pa*. The letter *ra* is more archaic. In Pallava records, generally, *ra* is a vertical line with a tube, long or short, curving to the left and attached to the bottom of the letter. In the records under publication, it shows only the vertical shaft as in the early Brāhmī script without the characteristic tube or hook of the Pallava age. The Koeti (East Borneo) Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarmaṇ of about the 5th century A.D. as determined by Dr. Vogel,² sometimes show a *ra* without a hook (see e.g., in inscription A, end of line 7). The Campā inscription of Bhadravarman does not show the hook in the letter *ra*. The letters *ja* and *sa*, however, of the present records are the same as those used in the inscription of Rājasimha Narasimhavarman II in the Atiranachandēśvara cave temple at Sāluvaṅkuppam.³ Dr. Bühler, remarking on these two letters under the head ‘the middle variety of the Grantha alphabet’ says that an innovation in the case of the former is “the transposition of the vertical of *ja* to the right end of the top bar and the conversion of the central bar into a loop connected with the lowest bar”. So also in the case of *sa* he says that an innovation introduced is “the combination of the left hand vertical of *sa* with the left end of the old side limb and of the right end of the side limb with the base stroke.” These forms of *ja* and *sa* occur for the first time in the Kūram Plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, the grandson of Mahēndravarman I (C. 650 A.D.), and may therefore be supposed to have been invented in the time of that king. The *na* of the records under discussion must be ascribed to the time of Mahēndravarman I.

Thus it appears that these label inscriptions were engraved at a time when the characteristics of the script of the time of Mahēndravarman I had not altogether been forgotten and yet when some innovations were being introduced in the Pallava-Grantha characters. Consequently, I am of opinion that the characters of these labels must belong to the time of Paramēśvaravarman I and that the sculptures too, on which the records are engraved, must have been contemporaneous with them. It may not be far from the truth, therefore, if it is stated that the royal groups represent **Mahēndravarman I**, the originator of rock-cut temples in Southern India and his son **Narasimhavarman-Siniḥavishnu I**, the inveterate foe of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655 to 680), and distinguished in history by the title **Vātāpikonda**.

The two other inscriptions copied from the rock-cut verandah of the Varāha-Perumāl temple confirm the above date for these writings, and throw light

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, Plate facing p. 12.

² The little hook attached to the long vertical of letters is considered to be a characteristic of the southern alphabets by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in his pamphlet on the Yūpa Inscriptions from Koeti, p. 223.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, Plate facing p. 12.

on the non-sectarian creed of the early Pallava kings. The one on the lintel above the figure of Śaṅkara-Śārāyaṇa contains the following well-known Paurāṇic verse on the ten **Avatāras of Vishṇu** with a slight variation and is inscribed in the very same Pallava-Grantha characters¹ (Plate I, C) as described above:—

. . . . २ अस्य^३ नारसिंहश्च वामनः[ः]* रामो रामस्य^३ रामस्य^३
बुद्धः[ः] कल्की च ते दश ॥

The verse mentions the ten *avatāras* of Vishṇu, viz., the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-Lion, the Dwarf, Rāma (i.e., Paraśurāma), Rāma (i.e., Dāśarathi Rāma), Rāma (i.e., Balarāma), Buddha and Kalkin. It may be observed that sometimes this well known verse is recited with Kṛishṇa substituted for Buddha.

Dr. Bloch writing on the subject of “the Vaishṇava invasion of Bodh Gaya”⁴ remarked that the earliest literary reference to the ninth *avatāra* of Vishṇu (viz. **Buddha**) is found in a work of the 12th century A.D. and that the Hindu notion of Buddha being an *avatāra* of Vishṇu must have arisen out of the *pīpal* tree with which Buddha’s ‘enlightenment’ is intimately connected, while the tree itself is worshipped by the Hindus as Vishṇu⁵ from even pre-Buddhist times down to the present day. It is not impossible that this suggestion of the learned doctor is the apparent explanation for the Paurāṇic tradition which identifies Buddha with the ninth *avatāra* of Vishṇu. No Paurāṇic account, however, in describing the descent of Buddha connects him with the *pīpal* tree under which he attained his *nirvāna*. Invariably they accept him as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu himself who purposely incarnated on Earth to mislead the *asuras* and thereby secure an easy victory for the *suras*. Here evidently, the term *asuras* refers to the followers of Buddha who did not accept the Vedic injunctions as regards the existence of God, the performance of sacrifices, etc., and *suras*, to the followers of the Vedas. This Paurāṇic theory of Buddha’s intentional mislead in matters of Vedic ritual was perhaps an interpolation inserted after the crushing defeat which the Buddhist doctrine must have received at the hands of the Advaita teacher Śaṅkarāchārya, whose date is placed somewhere about the 8th century A.D. In the small poem *Daśāvatārastōtra*, which is attributed to him Śaṅkarāchārya describes Buddha—though the latter was his religious opponent—in very high terms as a great sage (*yōgin*) seated in the *padmāsana* posture in deep meditation, and indicates thereby that he recognised Buddha as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu. The *Samhitās* for which Dr. Schrader in his *Introduction to the Pāñcharātra Samhitā* fixes the 8th century as the *terminus ad quem*, speak of the fallacious systems, the Buddhist *Sūnyavāda* and the Ārhata-*Sāstra* of the Jainas, as those which were revealed by the Lord himself in his Buddha and Rishabha *avatāras*. At Sirpur, in the Central Provinces is a shrine of about the 8th century A.D. in which are found side by side, the images of Rāma and Buddha, the latter being

¹ The letter *na* is somewhat carelessly engraved; *ma* has the notch in the base line; *ra* is without a hook and so also is *ka*; *sa* is the same as the one employed in the Paramēśvaravarman inscriptions.

² The missing letters must be मस्यः कूर्मो वर^c now hidden from view by a modern wall.

³ Read श.

⁴ A. S. R. for 1908-9, p. 151.

⁵ Asvattha-Śārāyaṇa as a name for the *pīpal* tree is quite familiar in the South.

represented in his usual meditative attitude. The avatāra-verse in question in the Varāha-Perumāl temple, written in characters also of about the 8th century A.D. supports the view that the inclusion of Buddha in the *avatāras* of Vishṇu must have already become familiar in the 8th century. The *Vishvaksēna-Saṁhitā* actually mentions Buddha as a secondary *avatāra* of Vishṇu. The *Vishṇusahasranāma* includes the name. The Agni, Vishṇu, Varāha and the Bhāgavata purāṇas include Buddha in the ten *avatāras* of Vishṇu, but the Mahābhārata, Hariyamṣa and the Dēvībhāgavata do not.¹ In Hindu iconography we have a figure of Vishṇu in meditative posture called Yōgēśvara-Vishṇu (mentioned only by Hēmādri of the 13th century), which may be taken to represent the Buddha-avatāra of Vishṇu.

The inclusion of Buddha in the list of the ten *avatāras* of Vishṇu may not entirely be the result of a psychological connection established by the identification of Vishṇu with the *Asvattha*-tree first and thence with Buddha because of the enlightenment of the latter under the *pīpal* tree. It may, as well have been due to the broad principles which guided the Brahminical framers of the Hindu pantheon as clearly stated in the Saṁhitā literature. An incarnation (*avatāra*), says Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, ‘acted sometimes like a human being or even a brute and at the same time had the miraculous powers of a God.’ It is no wonder then, that Buddha, with the bewildering powers displayed by him,—though non-Vedic and agnostic in his teachings—was easily counted as an *avatāra*, in the same manner as the sages Nārada, Sanatkumāra, Vēda-Vyāsa, Kapila, Dhanvantari, Dattātrēya, and the kings Pṛithu, Māndhātri and Arjuna. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa includes in a similar way and for similar reasons the first Jaina Tīrthāṅkara, Rishabha (Rishabhanātha) among the *avatāras* of Vishṇu. The reverence thus accorded to Buddha by the Brahmanic Hindus does not however indicate that he was actually worshipped in a temple or shrine dedicated to him, in the same way as the Vaishṇava *avatāras* Varāha, Nārasimha, Vāmana (Trivikrama), Rāma and Krishṇa. This might have been so on account of Buddha’s incarnation being considered to be either only a part (*amśa*) *avatāra* or to his teachings being, as stated above, agnostic and as such opposed to Vedic Hinduism.² Without assigning any particular reason the Yatindramatadīpikā—a Vaishṇava poem of about the 16th century—says that some *avatāras* of Vishṇu are worshipped and some are not. Buddha may have been one of those *avatāras* who were not included in the category of gods worshipped for the sake of liberation. The reason why Buddha, in spite of his non-Vedic teaching, was at all included in the ten *avatāras* may have been because (1) the *ahimsā-dharma* which he preached was common to early Vaishṇavism as it was to Buddhism and Jainism and (2) the Vāsudēva (Krishṇa) cult of the Bhagavad-Gītā flourished in the 4th century B.C. simultaneously with these two religions.³ It is now easy to understand also the Silpa-śāstras which prescribe the Śrīvatsa, a sacred mark of Vishṇu as a special mark of Buddha images as well. The Sudarśana-chakra (discus) of Vishṇu corresponds perhaps to Buddha’s *Dharmachakra*.

¹ The age of the Purāṇas is not yet finally settled. Mr. Pargiter places some of them which give the genealogical lists of Kings, in the post-Gupta period. Some are decidedly much earlier.

² Buddha according to the Saṁhitās was a secondary *avatāra* of Krishṇa and could be worshipped, inasmuch as he was possessed of the quality of misleading the heretics to the great advantage of the faithful.

³ See Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar’s *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 46.

It might be noted that the *pīpal* tree, which in the Vedic age and the Epic times was revered as the seat of Gods and the home of the Holy Mothers and known by the name Kēśavāvāsa¹ seems to have become in the later Paurāṇic age, evidently on account of its connection with Buddha, the home of ‘the goddess of ill-luck’ (Jyēshṭhā). Two ways of development, says the Liṅga-Purāṇa,² are created by the Lord for mankind. One is that of the Brāhmaṇas, the Vēdas, the Vedic rituals and the pure goddess Śrī (Lakshmī) and the other that of her elder sister Jyēshṭhā, the goddess of ill-luck and evil and low class people who are outside the pale of the Vēdas. The story of Jyēshṭhā in the same Purāṇa states that she was married to a sage, who on that account was not admitted thenceforth into the houses of Brāhmaṇas that followed the Vedic ritual. Anxious for a place where he could dwell in peace with his wife, the sage asked the advice of Mārkandēya. This sage told him which places to avoid and which to adopt. Of these latter, the houses where images of Bhikshu, Kshapanaka or the Bauddha existed were stated to be the best places for Jyēshṭhā, the goddess of ill-luck and her husband to stay. The Pādma-Purāṇa giving a slightly different version of the same story states that the *pīpal* tree, which was another form of Vishṇu himself was fixed by that god to be the permanent abode of Jyēshṭhā or Alakshmī. This story divested of its *paurāṇic* ethics preferring the adoption of Vedic worship to the non-Vedic, seems to suggest the connection of the *pīpal* tree with Buddha and Buddhism and as such fit only for Jyēshṭhā to live. Thus it appears that though the connection of Buddha with Vishṇu as one of the latter’s *avatāras* was accepted by the Purāṇas and Samhitās generally on account of his miraculous powers and his high position as a religious reformer, yet his non-Vedic teachings stood in the way of his being raised to the status of a worshipped god. Later on, perhaps after the time of Sankarāchārya, he even came to be looked upon as the propagator of an *āsuric* form of religion and his symbol the *pīpal* tree (Bōdhi-druma, Kēśavāvāsa) became the abode of ill-luck.

The other verse which is Saiva is written on the floor of the verandah (right side), in front of the Durgā group of images, in florid Pallava-Grantha characters (Plate I, A) of exactly the same type and size as those of the Rāmānuja-mandapa, reproduced on Plate II facing page 8 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, and transcribed at page 11 of the same volume. The text runs:—

1 धिक्षेषाम् धिक्षेषाम् पुनरपि धिग्विद्विगस्तु धिक्षेषाम् [!*] येषाच्च वस्ति

2 हृदये कुपथगतिविसोक्त्वा रुदः [!!*]

If, as Professor Hultzsch says, the existence of this Saiva verse in the so-called Rāmānuja-mandapa at Mahabalipuram raises the presumption that the latter must have been a shrine of Siva excavated during the reign of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I, a similar conclusion is not impossible in the case of the Varāha-Perumāl shrine also. The present image of Varāha in the central shrine is entirely

¹ See Dhanvantari quoted by Kshirasvāmin in his commentary on *Amarakōśa*, II, 4, 20.

² Bombay Venkatesvara Press Edition, Uttarabhāga, ch. VI.

sculptured scenes with explanatory labels on the south wall of the verandah running round the central shrine of the Vaikunṭha-Perumāl temple at Conjeeveram. It is stated therein: "The race of the Pallavas commenced with the creator Brahmā, and after the death of Paramēśvarappōttaraiyar (i.e., Paramēśvaravarman II), the kingdom having become kingless, the ministers, senators and the assembly consulted together and approached **Hiranyakarma-Mahārāja** of the **Kādavēsa** family and asked him to grant them a king. Hiranyakarma communicated this to some of the capable members of his family, who, however, refused to go. Then calling his own sons **Śrimalla**, **Ranamalla**, **Saṃgrāmamalla** and **Pallavamalla**, he enquired of them if any would accept. The first three having refused, the fourth, **Pallavamalla-Paramēśvara** consented. Though pleased with the noble resolve of this **Kāthaka** prince, the father was against sending this son who was then only twelve years old. At this stage, an old āgamika (āgāmika ?) of the court, called **Taranikonda-Pōśar** said: "this (prince) is one who is devoted to Mahā-Vishṇu. He must become an emperor." On this the required permission was granted and the prince started in a palanquin with Hiranyakarma-Mahārāja himself and Taranikonda-Pōśar leading the guarding armies. After going some distance the prince got down from the palanquin and taking leave of them, went on his way crossing several mountains, rivers and impassable forests. Hearing of his approach **Pallavadi-Araiyan** received him with a vast army, placed the prince on an elephant, took him to **Kāñchīpura-Mahānagar** (the capital), but himself died (?).¹ The Mahāsāmantas, the merchants (*nagarattār*)² and the assembly and **Kādakka Muttaraiyar** having heard of the prince's arrival, met him with honours and entered the Palace with him. Then, under the name **Nandivarman**, the circle of ministers, the feudatory chiefs, the two assemblies of administrators and the senators, crowned him emperor and decorated him with the insignia of royalty such as the peacock (?) parasol, the conch Samudraghōsha, the Khatvāṅga banner, the Bull-crest, etc., and offered him the royal seal *Vidēlvīḍugu*." This detailed description agrees, in the main, with what is hinted of him in the Kāśakuḍi plates. A recently discovered copper-plate record, to be soon published in the *Epi-graphia Indica*, also confirms the very tender age of Nandivarman when installed on the Pallava throne. It says of him: आधन्त प्रथितबलो युवेव राज्यं i.e. "he of well-established strength, received the kingdom while he was yet a youth."

The terms **Kādavēsa**, **Kāthaka** and **Kādakka** which occur in the inscription are of much interest. The former, as the name of the family in which Hiranyakarma was born, gives us a clue as to what the position was of the descendants of Simhavishṇu's younger brother Bhīmavarman, during the active rule at Kāñchī of Simhavishṇu's son Mahēndravarman I and his successors. **Kādavēsa** means 'the chief of the Kādava' which, in the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* occurs as a synonym for Pallava. The Tāṇḍalam inscription (*Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 25*) uses Kādava and Pallava in identically the same sense. The term also occurs in the Vēlvikuḍi grant of the Pāṇḍya king Neđuñjadaiyan published in

¹ Pallavadi-Araiyan was perhaps some distant kinsman of the king with, however, no right to succeed to the throne.

² The merchant community of the Nāṭṭukkēttai Chetties are even now known by the name *nagarattar*.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII, No. 16, p. 308. Its interpretation as synonymous with Pallava was not hitherto based on any direct statement. Now we clearly see that the kings of the collateral line of Pallavas which descended from Bhīmavarman, were actually called Kāḍavas and ruled simultaneously with the Pallavas of the main line, somewhere over a distant part of the Pallava country. This latter fact is inferred from the statement that Pallavamalla had to go a long distance "crossing several mountains and impassable forests" to reach Kāñchī. Perhaps, we can even conclude from the frequent occurrence of the name Kāduvetṭi and other allied forms of Kāḍava in records from the modern Cuddapah and Kurnool districts and the Mysore State that the Kāḍavas of the Bhīmavarman line ruled in those parts, though, later on, they claim to have ruled over Kāñchī also.¹ A Pallava ruler of the Telugu country at the time of the Chālukya invasion from the north under Satyāśraya of Ayōdhyā was Trinayana of about the 6th century A.D. He is often mentioned in Telugu inscriptions as Trinayana-Pallava or Mukkanṭi-Kāduvetṭi, (see *Ep. Rep.* for 1908, p. 70 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, p. 58). The Nolamba-Pallavas of the Kanarese country also trace their origin to him. Kāḍakka-Muttaraiyar who joined with the chiefs and merchants of Kāñchī in installing Pallavamalla on the throne must have been another near kinsman of the Pallavas and an ancestor of Kāduvaṭṭi Muttarasa who about the end of the 9th century A.D. laid seige to Kōyatūr (Laddigam), a village included in the Punganur Zamindari of the Chittoor district, in the time of the Bāṇa king Vijayāditya II (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII, p. 3). We learn further that the term Kāḍakka, through the Sanskritized Kāṭhaka, was also a form of Kāḍava (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 167, footnote 2).

The inscription records the gift of a pasture-land for calves (*kanru-mēykalāni*) by one of the merchants (*nagarattār*) of Māmallapura, himself having purchased the land in question from a native of Kunṛattūr in the district of Āmūr-nādu. Āmūr and Kunnattūr are villages in the Chingleput taluk of the Chingleput district in the Madras Presidency.

TEXT.

Front of slab.

- 1 Svasti śrī-Palla[va*]-vamsasya²[||*]Na[nti]³
- 2 bōdhuvarmmaku⁴ rā[j]yāvibhiddhya⁵
- 3 ū=chhelāniṇradu⁶ ārupattu-
- 4 ḍand-āvadu Māmalla[pu]-
- 5 rattu nagarattār Idaivala[ū]-
- 6 chāṇ Kāṇḍāṇ kanru-mē-[kala]-
- 7 niy-āga konda nilam [||*][Ā]-
- 8 mūr-nāṭṭu Kunṛattūr-i[dai]

¹ The *Vikrama-Sōlaṇ-Uta* refers to a Kāḍava ruler of Šenji (Gingee) in the South Arcot District.

² Read -vāmedya.

³ Read Nandi

⁴ Read -pōtarvarmaruku

⁵ Read rājyābhivriddhya-

⁶ Read =śellāniṇradu.

⁷ Read aind.

- 9 vālum Kunrattūr-[kilā]-
- 10 r Ilan-Pađuvunār magan . .¹
- 11 n Kandan-i[dai] kanru-mē-ka[la]-
- 12 [ni]y-āga virrukonda nilatt[u]-
- 13 [k]k=ellai[||*]² Malīnai Nall[u]-
- 14 lār-tōtta[t*]ti[n] mēlkum [te]-

Back of slab.

- 15 [n]päll-elai³ kōnē-
- 16 [ri-i]n vadakkum mēlpäl-
- 17 l-[e]lai³ Māndai-talaiva[n]=
- 18 [ē]rikkum peru-vali-in [ki]-
- 19 [lak]kum vadapäl-elai³ Pa-
- 20 nappādi-elai-i[n]⁴ te-
- 21 [rku]m i-nāng-ellai
- 22 [a]gapat̄ta⁵ nilamum Kandan[i]-
- 23 dai virrukonda po-
- 24 -n Kanru-mē-kalaniy-
- 25 [kku] peyidān [||*] Idu a-
- 26 [li]yāmai kāttā[n=a]di e-
- 27 [n]=rallai⁶ mēladu[||*]

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1). Hail to the glorious **Pallava** dynasty ! In the **sixty-fifth** year which is current in the increasing reign of **Nandipōtavarman**, Idaivalañjān Kandan (*one of*) the *nagarattār* (*merchants ?*) of **Māmallapuram** purchased (*the following*) land as *kanru-mē-kalani*.

(L. 8). (*The following are*) the boundaries of the land purchased for the purpose of a *kanru-mē-kalani* from [Kō]n Kandan, son of Ilan Pađuvunār the headman (*kilār*) of Kunrattūr, who lives in **Kunrattūr** (*a village*) of **Āmūr-nādu**.

(L. 13). [*The Eastern boundary*] (*is*) to the west of the garden of Malīnai Nallulār; the southern boundary (*is*) to the north of the square tank (*kōnēri*); the western boundary (*is*) to the east of the tank (*built by*) the chief of Māndai and of the big road; and the northern boundary (*is*) to the south of the Pappađi boundary.

(L. 20). The land included in these four boundaries was purchased from Kandan and gold was given with libation (*of water*) for the *kanru-mē-kalani*.

(L. 24). The feet of him who protects this (*charity*) without diminution, shall be on my head.

¹ Possibly the missing letter is *Kō-*

² The word *kilpäl=ellai* seems to have been omitted here.

³ Read *päl=ellai*.

⁴ Read *-ellai*.

⁵ Read *agappat̄ta*.

⁶ Read *rallai*.

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[N.B.—The figures refer to pages ; *n* after figures to footnotes and the figure following *n*, to the number of the footnote. Other abbreviations used are :—*co.*=country; *di.*=district, division; *dy.*=dynasty; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village, town.]

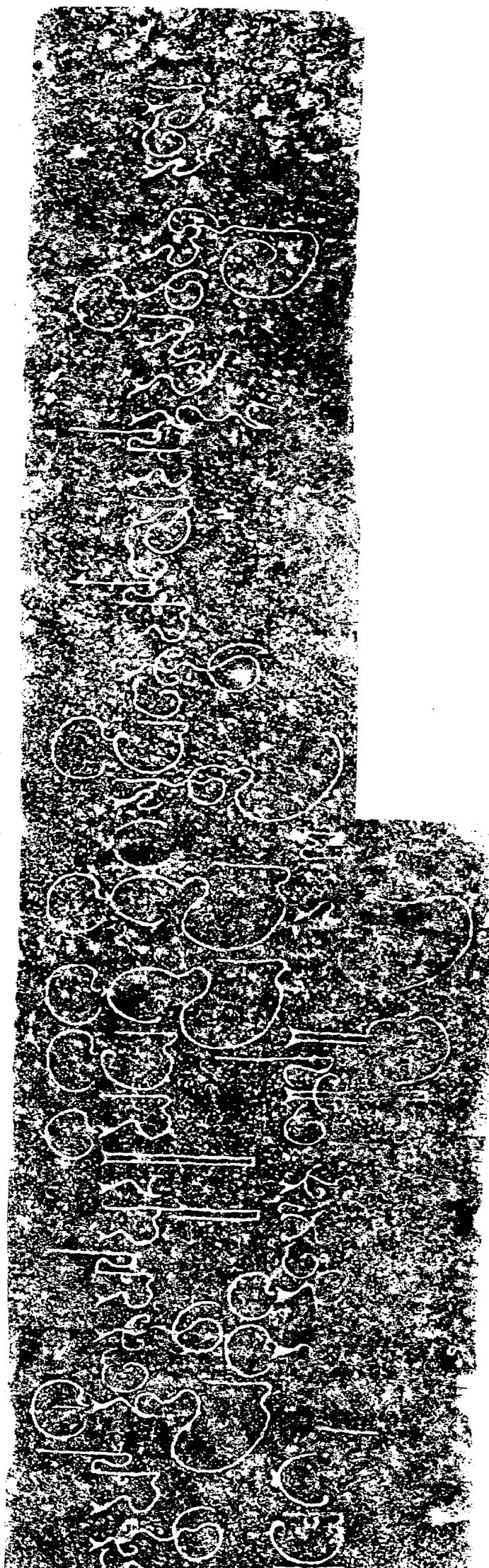
- Ādiśēsha, *serpent-god*, 26, 2.
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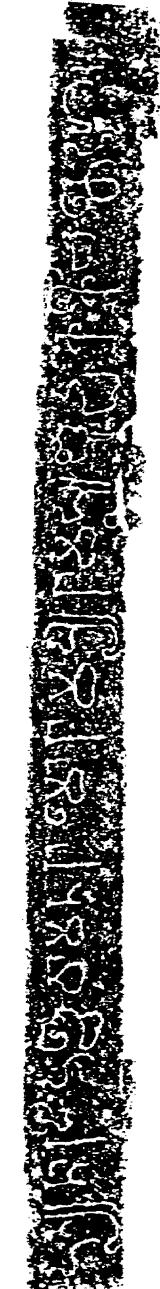
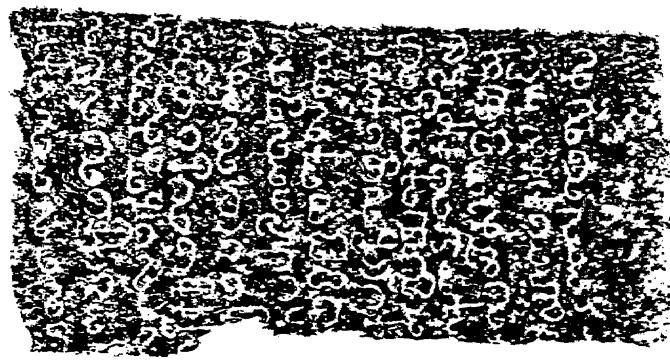
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Yūpa inscriptions, of King Mūlavarmaṇ, **26**, 3, 4 and 4n.



FRONT.

BACK.

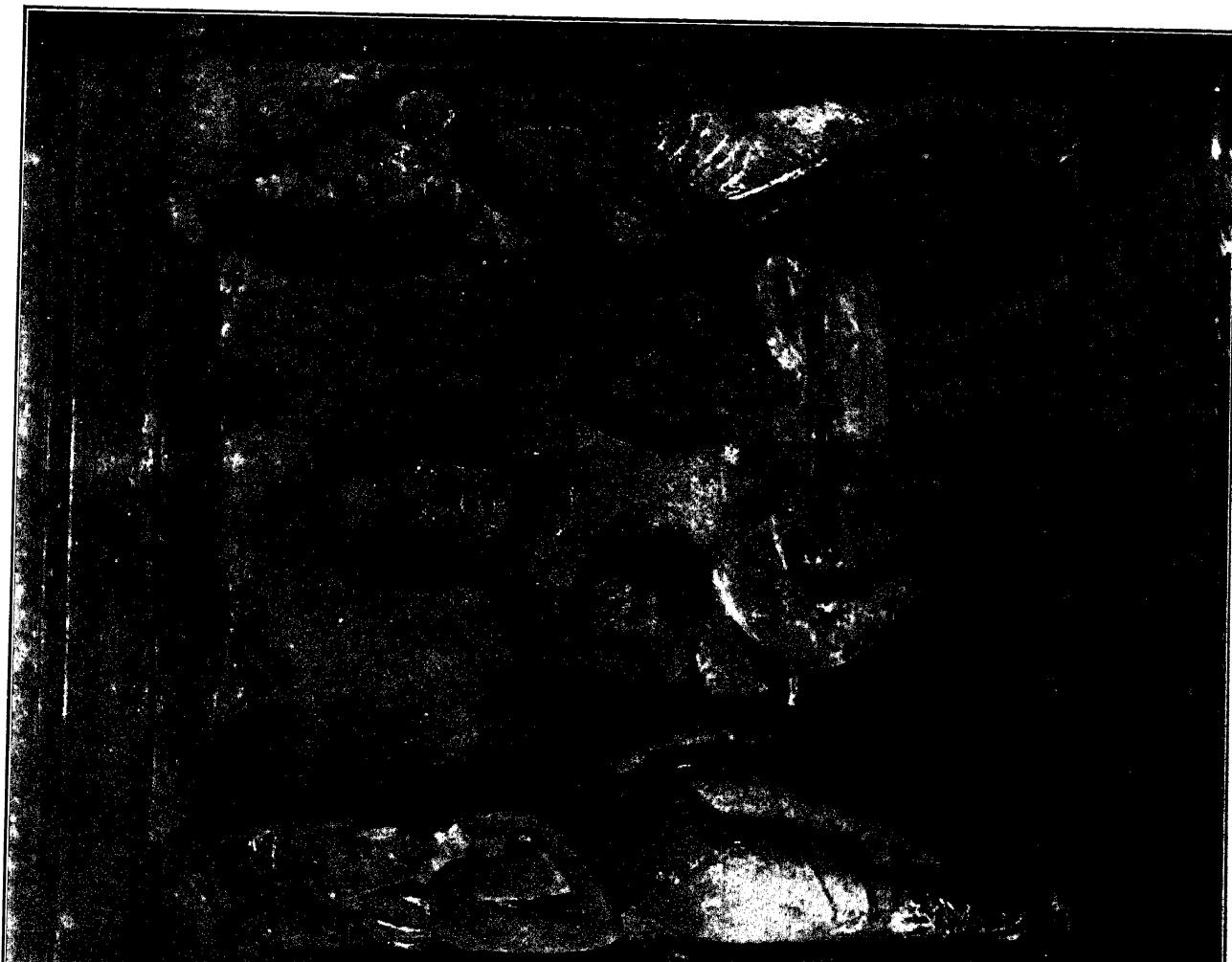


D.





MAHENDRAVARMAN AND HIS QUEENS.



SIMHAVISHNU AND HIS QUEENS.

From photographs by Mr. P. Viswanatha Aiyar, of the Madras Epigraphy Office.

MEMOIRS OF THE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 27

PAGEANT OF KING MINDON
leaving his Palace on a visit to the
Kyauktawgyi Buddha Image at
Mandalay (1865)

Reproduced from a contemporary and rare document.

BY
CHAS. DUROISELLE, M.A.,
Superintendent, Archaeological
Survey, Burma Circle.



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INTRODUCTION.

The pictures in the accompanying fifteen plates were reproduced from paintings in a *parabaik* or Burmese folding book belonging to Mr. R. C. J. Swinhoe of Mandalay. They represent the pageant of King Mindon (1853-78), the last king but one of Burma, leaving his Palace on the 16th of May 1865, to perform the dedication ceremony of the marble image of Buddha known as the *Kyauk-taw-gyi* Image placed in a small temple near the foot of the Mandalay Hill, Mandalay. This document is a very rare one, if not perhaps the only one now extant on this subject, and it was thought worthy of preservation from an ultimate fate of probable oblivion. It is, moreover, one of the very few extant specimens, well and carefully executed, of pure Burmese art before that art became sensibly influenced by western models and technique a few decades afterwards. It is a model of the last stage reached by Burmese painting after an almost uninterrupted course of nearly nine centuries, a course which can be followed step by step on the walls of temples scattered over the country. On the whole, it cannot be said that the art of painting through all this period has made much progress or greatly improved in its technique. This is no doubt to be attributed to the distracted state of the country which, through many centuries, was in an almost constant ferment of war; such a condition, here as elsewhere, is little conducive to sustained progress in the fine arts. It will be remarked, however, how many of the figures in this document are finely delineated; the elephants are a master-piece of drawing, the animals being absolutely true to the life; judging from the earliest examples known, the Burmese have always excelled in exquisitely representing the elephant. The horse, as will be seen, is not quite so happily executed; so also are the examples of it in early frescoes.

These paintings exhibit a display of the forces in full dress of the Burmese standing army at its headquarters at Mandalay. The quaint dresses of the princes, princesses, ministers, etc., the gorgeous uniforms of the warriors and of the officers; the richly caparisoned elephants and horses; the war-chariots and typically Burmese sedan-chairs, make a delightful and vivid picture. They are now a thing of the past, but the scenes depicted here make them live again under our eyes. They are reproduced here by kind permission of Mr. Swinhoe, the owner of the original paintings, and of Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., Director-General of Archæology in India.

The *parabaik* contains fifteen pages, each measuring $22\frac{1}{2}'' \times 18''$; all these fifteen pages represent only one scene: the pageant; that is, the *parabaik* is

supposed to be opened to its full length, when the pageant in its entirety can be viewed at one glance. In this, the Burmese had the better of us for, for the sake of convenience, we have been obliged to reproduce the painting on each page as a separate plate with a description facing it.

Even in the *parabaik*, the pictures would not have been exactly understood by the Burmese without the explanations in Burmese at the bottom. It must be here remarked that the explanations in Burmese under each picture, in the plates as well as in the originals, do not necessarily explain the scene above, but mostly refer to the scenes depicted one or two plates back; this is due to the fact of the explanations having been compiled separately, and written subsequently at the bottom of the *parabaik* in such space as could be left for them.

The explanations facing each plate are taken from the Burmese below the scenes. They are not, however, a translation, for the Burmese text bristles with native names of battalions, etc., which, if reproduced in the English explanations, would have made them unreadable and irksome. A careful examination will show that the formation or constitution of each of the battalions represented is practically identically the same, except in a few instances; and this is the reason why, unless I had repeated again and again the same thing, the explanations facing some plates are so short. To specialists in Burma anxious to know the formation and the names of the battalions of which the small army at Mandalay under Mindon consisted, the Burmese legend below these plates will give some information. The standing army at the capital probably did not exceed 14,000 or 15,000 men. The infantry, divided into "Inner" battalions, "Outer" battalions and "Miscellaneous" battalions, numbered about 13,000 men. The artillery was poor, consisting of small old model guns, and of jingals and culverins, all of which may be seen in these plates. The artillery was served by about 500 men, all of them descendants of Portuguese and French colonists or rather prisoners of war, of the 16th and 17th centuries. The cavalry consisted of about 2,500 horse.¹

We find a short account of the *Kyauk-taw-gyi* Image and the small temple in which it is housed, in two Burmese chronicles.² The small temple is situated at the foot of the Mandalay Hill, at the north-east corner outside the walls of the *Shwé-myo-daw* or Golden City which, since the British occupation (1885), is known as Fort Dufferin. King Mindon erected it, but for some reason or other did not complete it; the corrugated iron roof as it is now seen was put on by the *Sawbwā* (Shan Chief) of Nyaung-ywé. The huge block of white marble out of which the statue was carved was obtained from the Sa-gyin quarry, a hill some twenty-four miles to the north of Mandalay, in June 1864, and brought over to Mandalay with great difficulty and after many vicissi-

¹ For some more details and the mode of levying, officering, etc., see "Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States", Vol. II, Part I, p. 498 *f.*

² "Mandalay-Rājavan", p. 103; "Kōn-bhaung-zet-Rājavan", p. 1437 and p. 1441

INTRODUCTION.

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tudes. The King and Queen, from time to time, went to see the progress of the carving, each visit being made the occasion of great festivities. The image was completed in 1865, and the King and Queen, on the 16th of May of that year, repaired in great state to the pagoda to dedicate the image; it is the pageant of this visit which our plates represent.

Owing to the high cost of printing plates in colours, fourteen were reproduced in black. The first plate only is in colours; but as these colours are practically the same all over, this plate will give a good idea of the rest.

CHAS. DUROISELLE,

Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma.

MANDALAY, }
The 24th June 1924. }

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| PLATE I | . | Vanguard: artillery flanked by cavalry. |
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| „ IV | . | Vanguard: 4th Battalion; Infantry of 5th Battalion. |
| „ V | . | Vanguard: 5th Battalion; Horse, chariots, elephants; 6th Battalion. |
| „ VI | . | Vanguard: elephants of the 6th Battalion; Royal Guards. |
| „ VII | . | Royal Guards; Royal elephants; The King's elephant is covered with gold network and has no rider; Members of the Royal family and officials. |
| „ VIII | . | Royal Guards; Royal Steeds; Regimental Band; Requisites of Royal Personages; Siamese, Arakanese, and Shan Princes. |
| „ IX | . | Royal Guards; Ministers' daughters; Notables' daughters; the Coronation White Umbrella; Princesses; Ensigns of Royalty; Royal Palanquin. |
| „ X | . | Royal Guards; Royal Carriage; Royal Steed; attendants on the King and Queen; Royal physicians; attendants of the Harem. |
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| „ XIV | . | Rearguard—5th Battalion; part of Infantry of 6th Battalion. |
| „ XV | . | 6th Battalion. End of Pageant. |

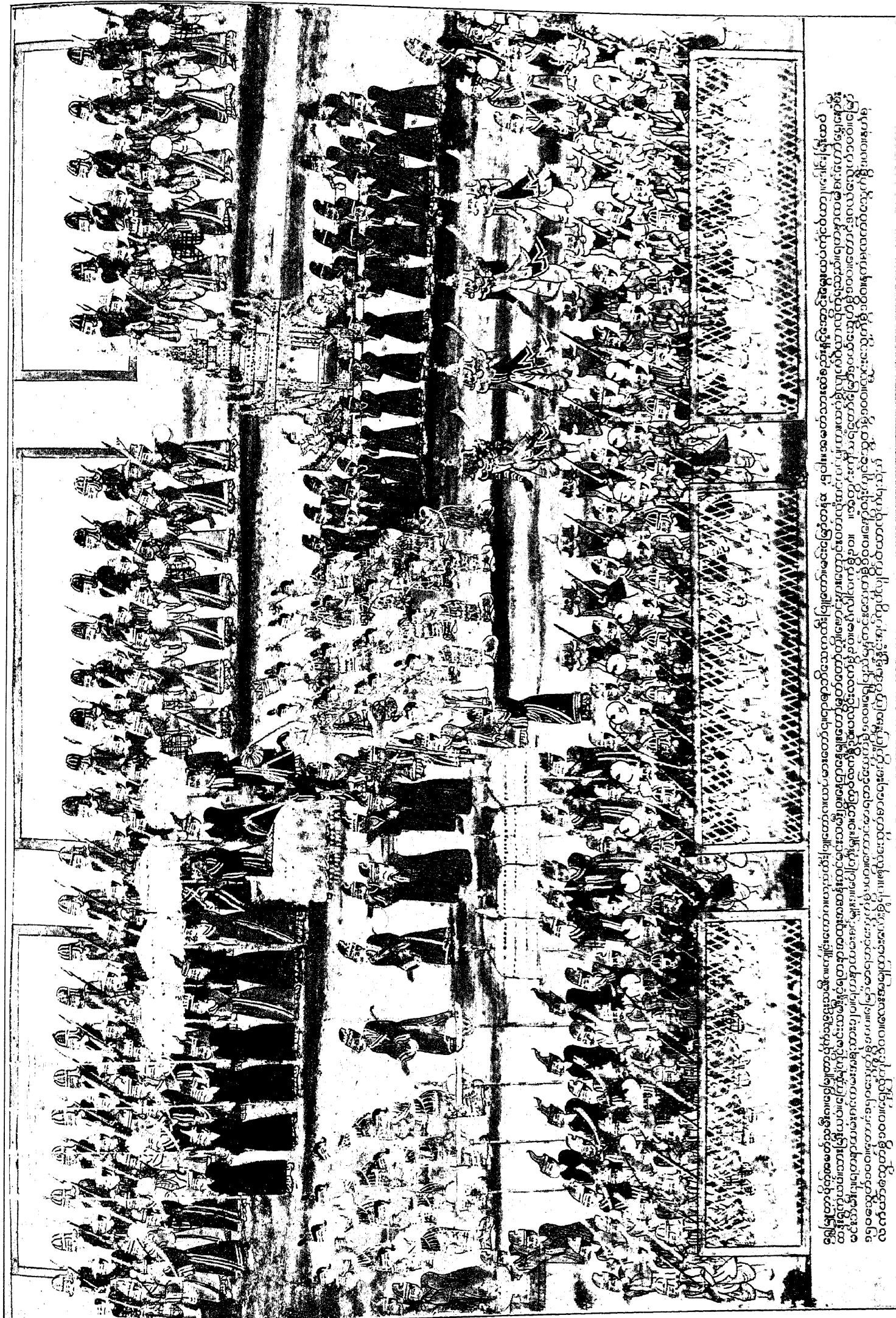
NOTE—A Burmese battalion or regiment consisted of four units—1st infantry; 2nd cavalry; 3rd war-chariots and 4th elephants, according to the division so well known from Pali writings. This is the order followed in the following plates for each regiment. The Pageant consisted, first, of artillery, followed by six Battalions, called the Vanguard Battalions; then came the Royal Guard Regiments followed by what was called the six Rearguard Battalions.

PLATE VIII.

Continuation of the two previous plates. On the left, in two lines, eight propitious white Royal steeds, each led by a groom in gala dress. Immediately behind the horses, is a regimental band, consisting of drums and trumpets; they herald the approach of the King. Close behind the band on the right (top) and left (bottom) come two jingals or small guns, carried each by two foreigners. Behind these come from forty to fifty men carrying requisites of royal personages; each object is carried on a square board on the shoulders of four bearers. On each side of the horses, regimental band and bearers, is a line of Siamese, Arakanese and Shan princes, also ministers and officials, each in court dress and holding a fan; there is nothing in the apparel and dress to distinguish them; the middle line consists of spearmen and bowmen, and the next line near the fences, of Royal Body-guards with muskets. These last two belong to several companies whose native names are given. On each side, without the fences, two officers on horseback.

PLATE IX.

Now follow, in the middle on the left, eight girls, in two ranks of four; those in the front rank are ministers' daughters, each carrying a golden vase; the four in the other rank are notables' daughters and each carries a silver vase; the four figures before the girls form part of the requisite-bearers in plate VIII. Behind these girls, two court officials one after the other, each carrying a fan. Immediately behind them comes the Coronation White Umbrella, carried by four men. On each side of this Coronation Umbrella and of the eight girls on the left are carried eight umbrellas and two fans; the first four on each side are official umbrellas, the four next white umbrellas, the two fans on either side may be seen one between the 1st and 2nd white umbrellas, the other between the 3rd and 4th; the first on the right (top) is the best delineated. Behind the Coronation White Umbrella advance 16 princesses in four lines of four. In the first rank, the two in the middle carry each a yak's tail fly-flap, the one on the right carries a peacock feather fan, and the one on the left a fan made of palmleaf; the princess at the right end of the second row carries a mirror; the rest of the princesses carry lotus flowers. Immediately in front of these 16 princesses, are two sons of ministers carrying each a yak's tail fly-flap, and immediately between these two and the Coronation White Umbrella, come five men bearing the ensigns of Royalty, that is, beginning from the man on the right: the fly-flap, the sceptre, the crown, the white umbrella (which seems to be closed) and the sandals. Behind the 16 princesses comes the Royal Palanquin, borne by 120 bearers, behind it come four men each carrying a forked prop to support the palanquin when not in motion. On the palanquin are seated four princesses. The King should be represented in the palanquin; the text says nothing about him, but that he was there is shown clearly enough by the Coronation Umbrella and the five ensigns of Royalty preceding it. The King was not represented as a sign of respect to such an august personage. On the left of the Royal Palanquin are four officers of the Royal Guards bearing swords; on the left of these are 11 musketeers representing the 30 specially attached to the person of the King. On each side are three lines; the line nearest the fence are musketeers of the Royal Regiment; then a line of officials with swords and fans, and a line of spearmen and bowmen mixed.



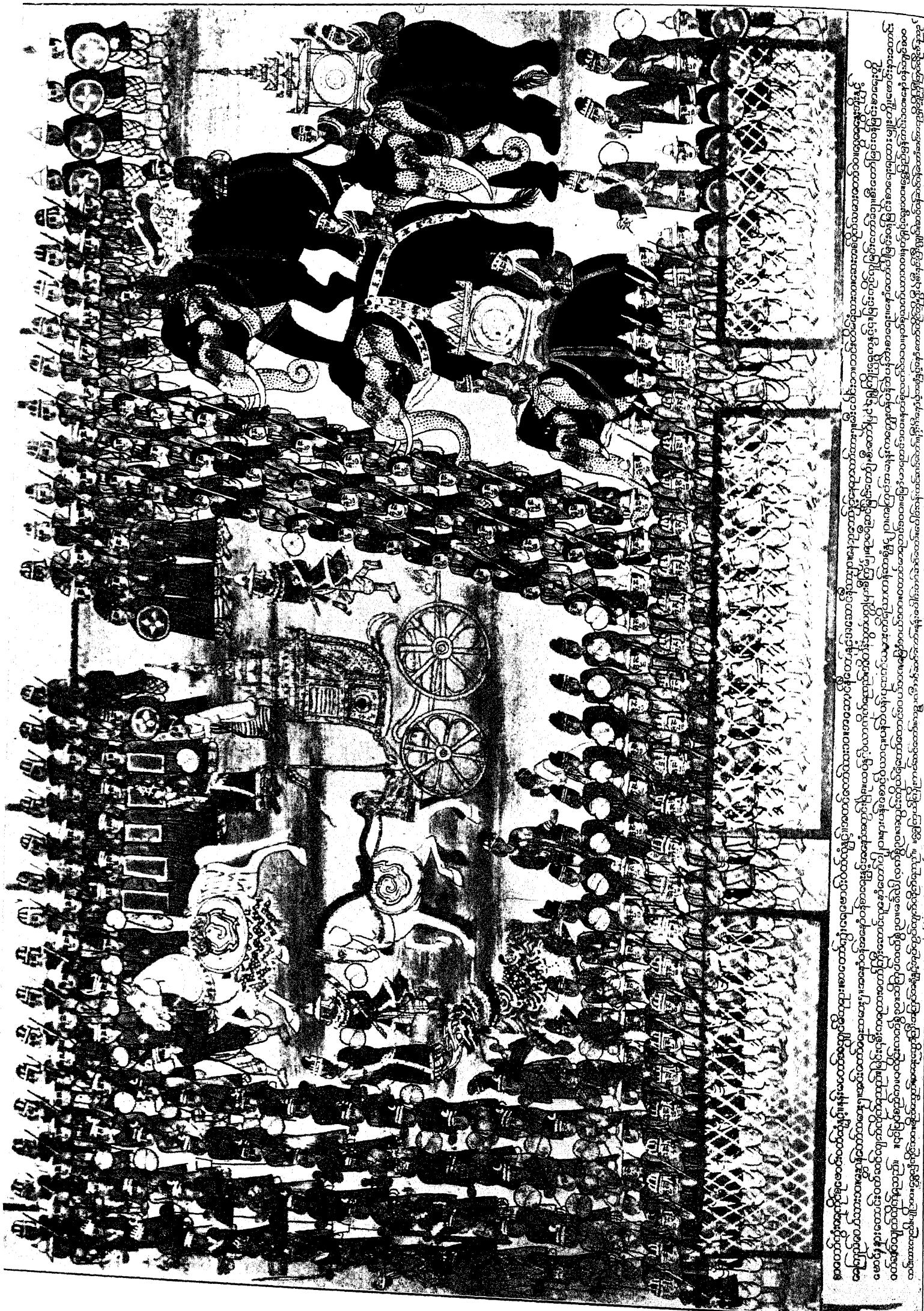


PLATE X.

Continuation of preceding plate. In the centre is the Royal Carriage drawn by four horses, it is closed and there is no one in it; in front of the four horses is a military officer with sword and fan, and immediately before him is the minister in charge of the western portion of the Palace, where the womenfolk resided. On the left of these two is a royal horse dressed up, says the text, like the fabulous animal called "Zāmayī", a kind of mythical flying horse. On the other side is the royal steed, richly caparisoned. On either side of the carriage is a minister with an attendant behind him. In the middle on the extreme left, are the attendants on the King and Queen, the royal physicians and the attendants of the harem; they are in four ranks of 10 each. The first man on the right of the first rank carries a betel-box in imitation of a sheldrake; the second a small box with a conical cover; the objects carried by the 3rd and 4th cannot be identified, but they look like stands for betel-boxes, the 5th carries a tobacco pipe; the 6th a pair of slippers in the form of a sheldrake; the 7th a small box; the 8th a betel-box in the form of a garuda; the 9th a goglet with a conical cover and the 10th a fan.

In the 2nd line, the first two men on the right carrying fans, are harem attendants; the next three carry small official umbrellas; the 6th carries lamp with globe; the 7th and 8th carry the crown, weapons, etc., of preceding kings in velvet bags; the last two with fans are harem attendants.

In the 3rd row, beginning from the right, the 1st, 2nd, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th men are harem attendants; the 3rd man carries a lamp; the 5th and 6th are royal physicians with their medicine boxes.

In the 4th row, from the right, the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th men are attendants in the harem; the 3rd and 4th carry lamps; the objects carried by the 5th and 6th cannot be identified. The man behind the 10th one, is an attendant on the King and Queen carrying two bejewelled canes in a velvet bag on his shoulder.

The first inward line stretching along the two horses, up and down, some carrying fans and others shields, are attendants of the harem.

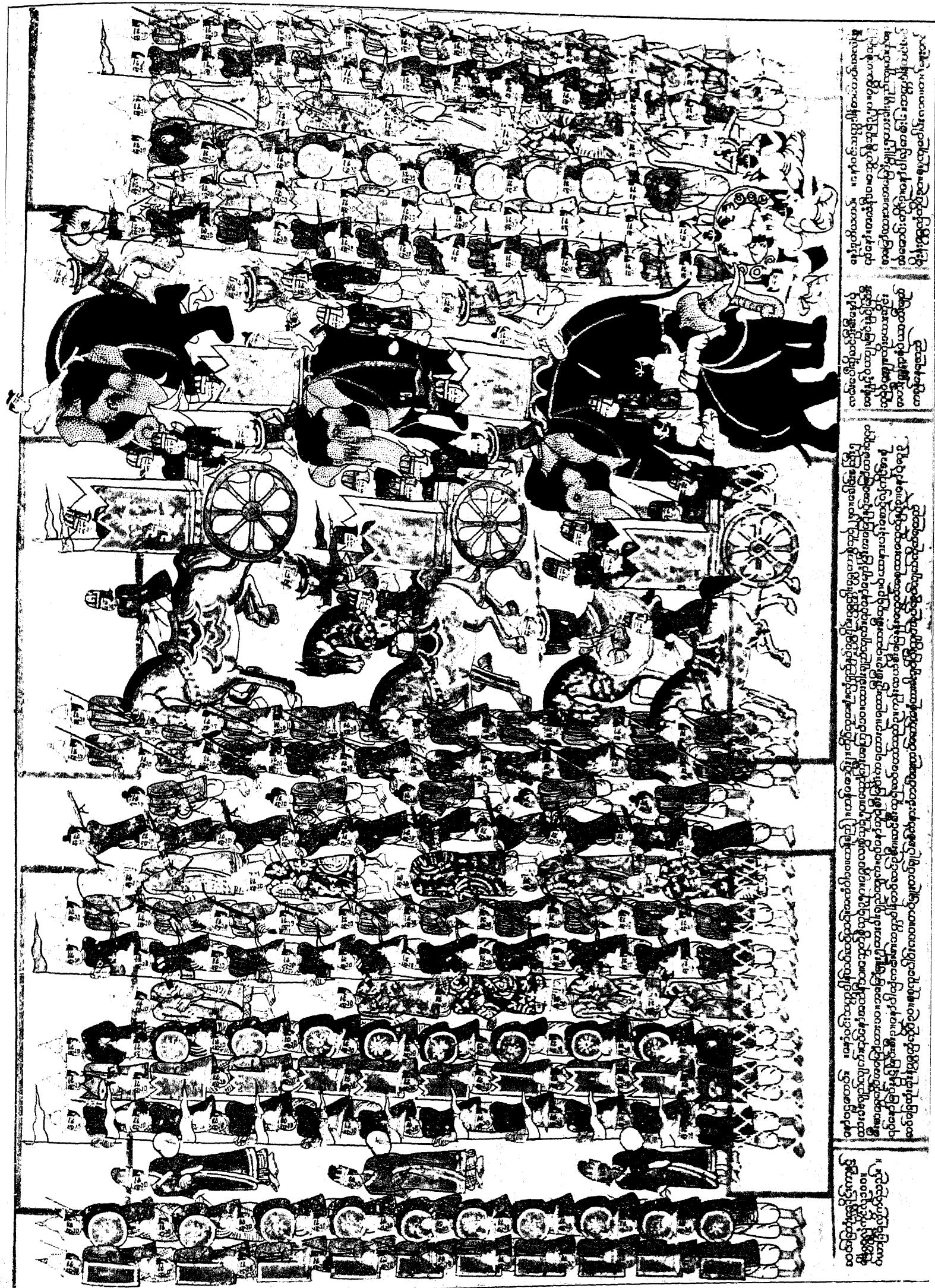
The four animals on the right are royal elephants. The three figures on the left of (that is below) these elephants and holding a fan are probably officers in charge of the royal elephant stables. In front of the royal elephants are musketeers three ranks deep with, before them, an officer with sword and fan. On both sides near the fences are the usual musketeers.

PLATE XI.

On the left, the two front lines with round and rectangular shields, are spearmen, whose business it was to look after the royal elephants' feet if wounded; the three figures behind probably are of the Royal Elephant Corps. Behind these come a battalion 810 strong, the first of those forming the rear-guard, with pennons, circular and rectangular shields; the pennons are yellow. Behind them come five officers with swords, then two lines of men: the 1st carrying red pennons, the 2nd bows. Behind these five officers again. Then comes a line of 10 men with couleuvrines followed by five men carrying wick-coils and behind these two lines of musketeers.

Now come three war-chariots and four elephants; the two elephants in the middle are war-elephants, the other two on the right and left, are to prevent the people from rushing in through the fences. Below, near the elephant, is a Burmese orchestra with a dancing girl.

On the right are soldiers six lines deep, whose formation has already been explained in previous plates.



प्राचीन विजयनगर संस्कृत लेखन का एक उत्तम नमूना है। यह लेखन में अद्भुत शैली का प्रयोग है, जिसमें लिपि के विविध रूपों का व्यापक उपयोग है। लेखन का विषय एक ऐसी घटना है, जिसमें द्वितीय विजयनगर राजा ने अपने राज्य की विश्वासी विजय का उपर्युक्त उत्सव आयोजित किया।

लेखन की शुरुआत में, राजा का उत्तम उत्सव का विवरण है। उनकी विश्वासी विजय का उपर्युक्त उत्सव आयोजित किया गया। इसमें लोगों की विश्वासीता और उत्सुकी का विवरण है।

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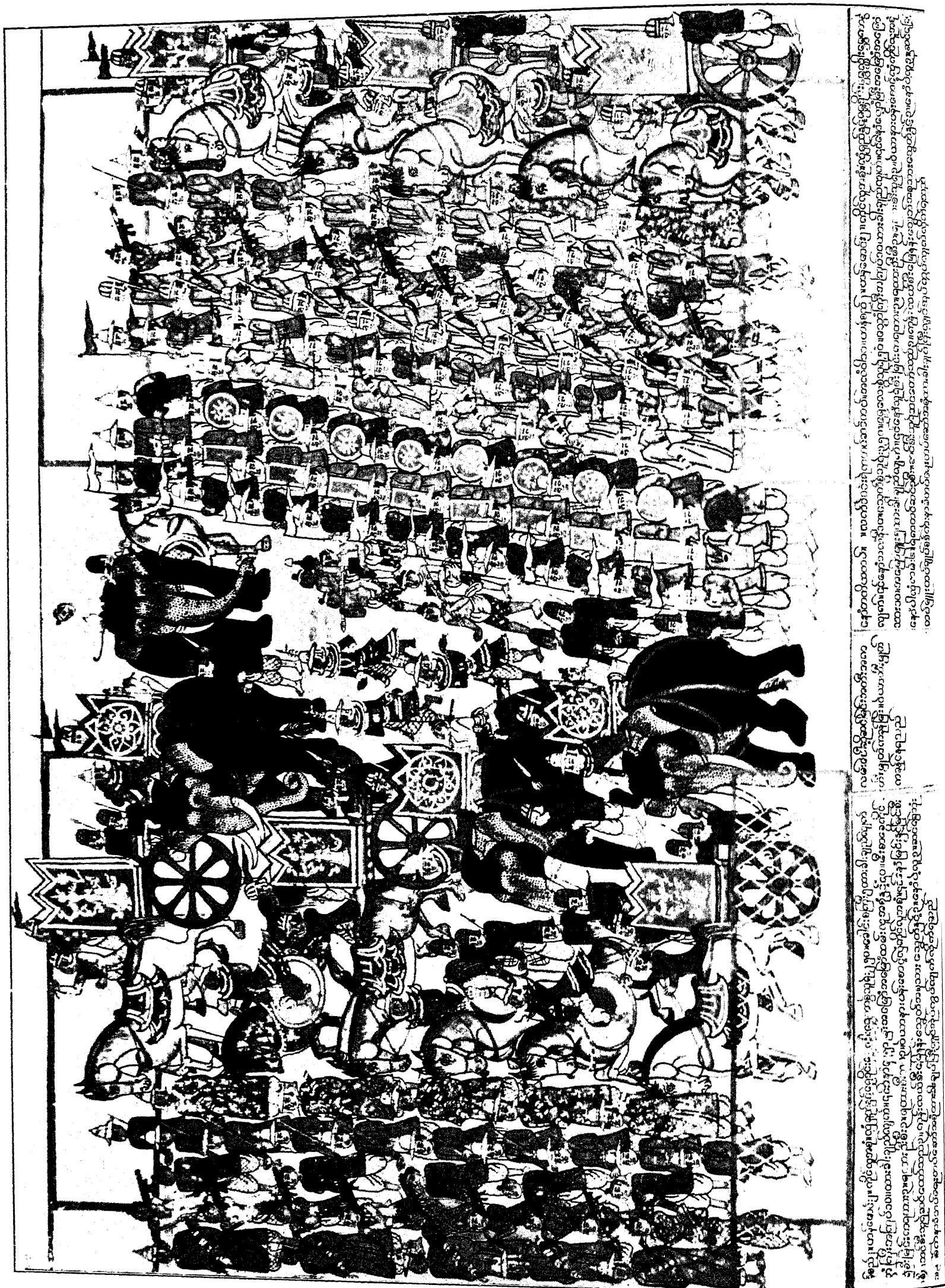


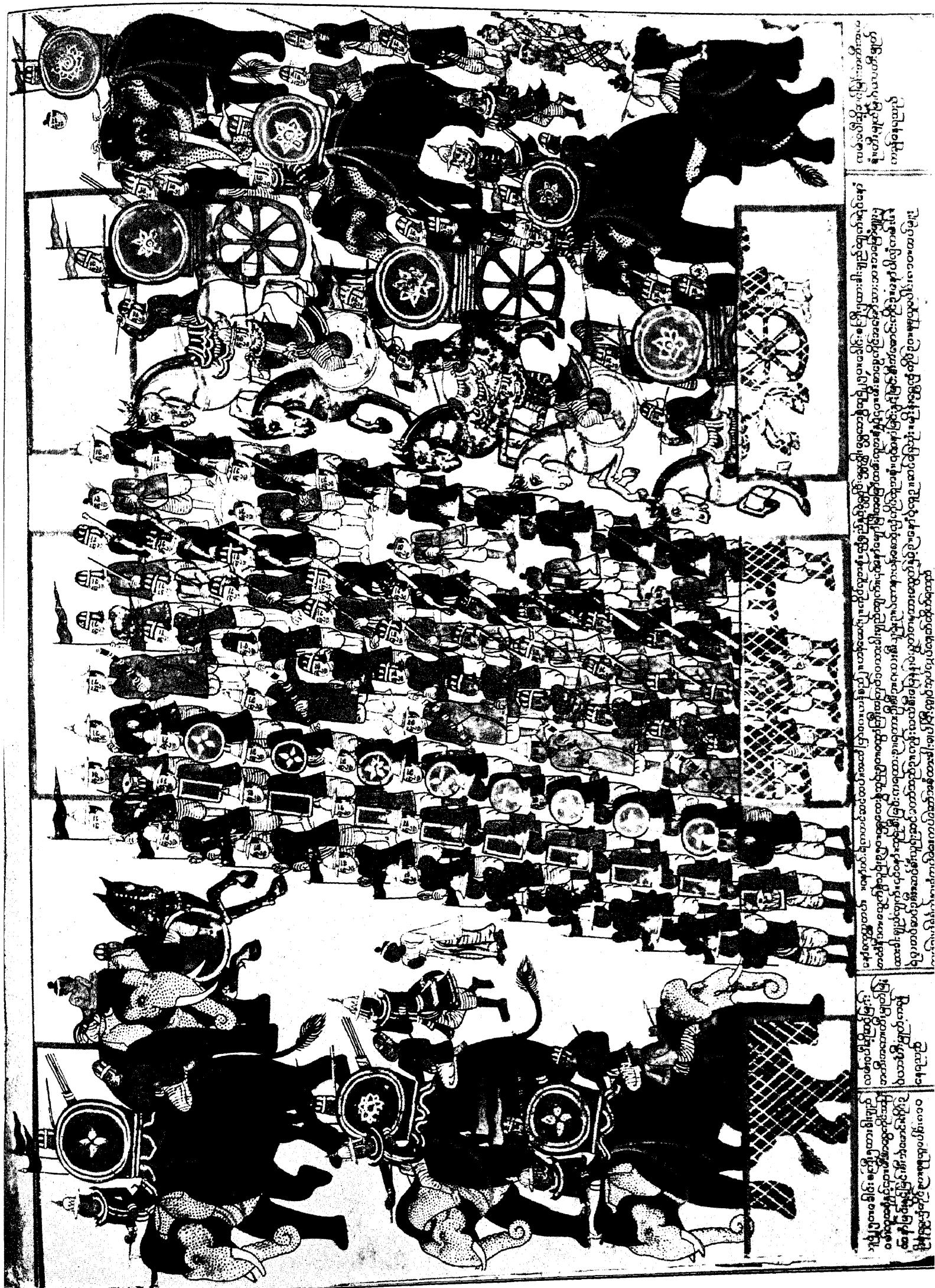
PLATE XII.

On the left, the last lines of the battalion whose front lines are on the previous plate; then come three war-chariots with officers on horseback between them; then three war-elephants; behind the middle chariot, three officers followed by their attendants; the elephant on the top and the horseman near it, guard the opening in the fence.

Then comes another battalion 810 strong, formed in ten lines; its composition has been explained in previous plates. On the extreme right, three war-chariots.

PLATE XIII.

On the left, three war-elephants, one officer and attendant, and, on the sides, two other elephants and one horseman doing police work. Then comes another battalion nine ranks deep and 810 strong, whose description now is unnecessary; three war-chariots, three war-elephants; below, in the right hand corner, a police elephant.



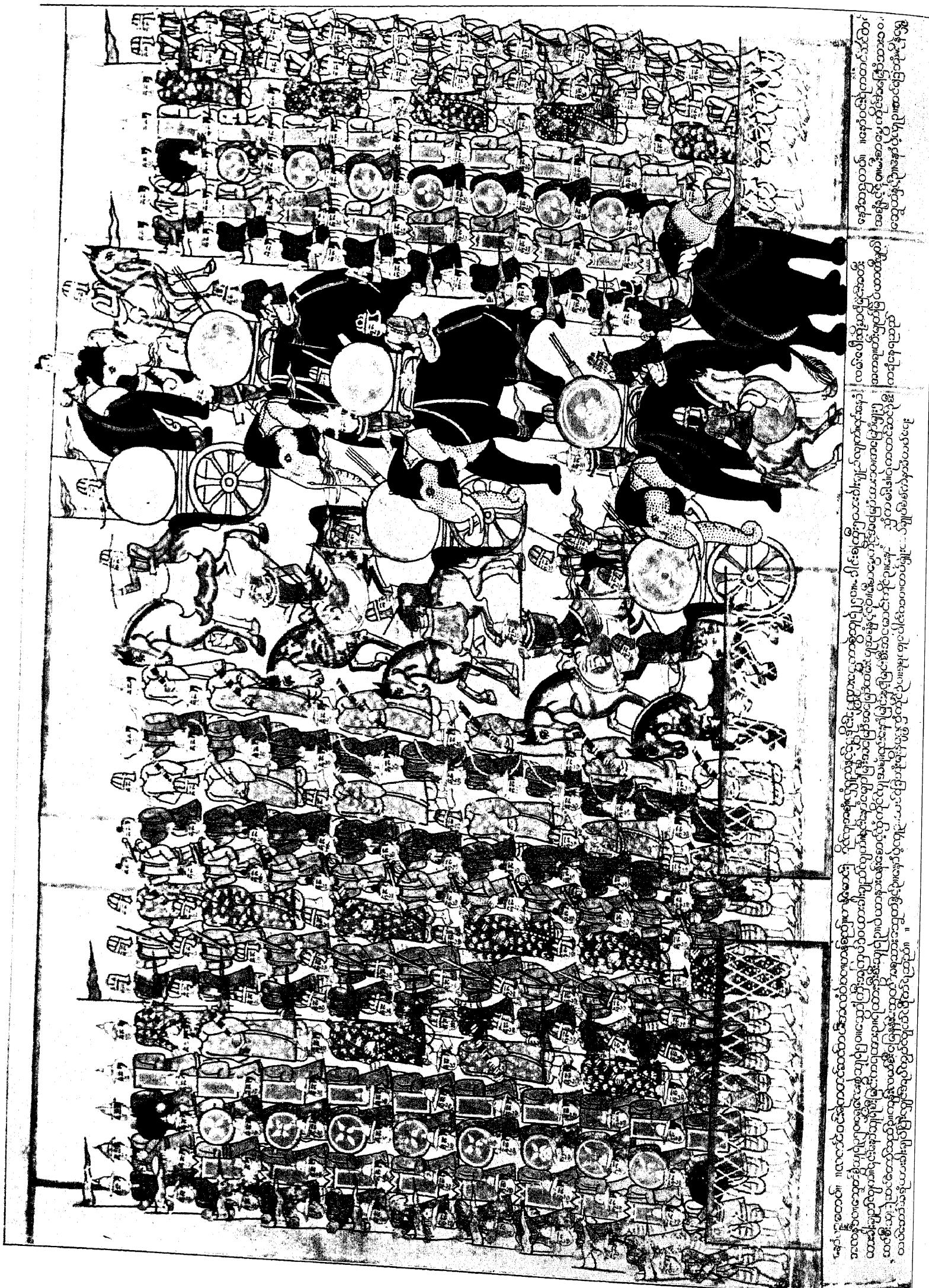


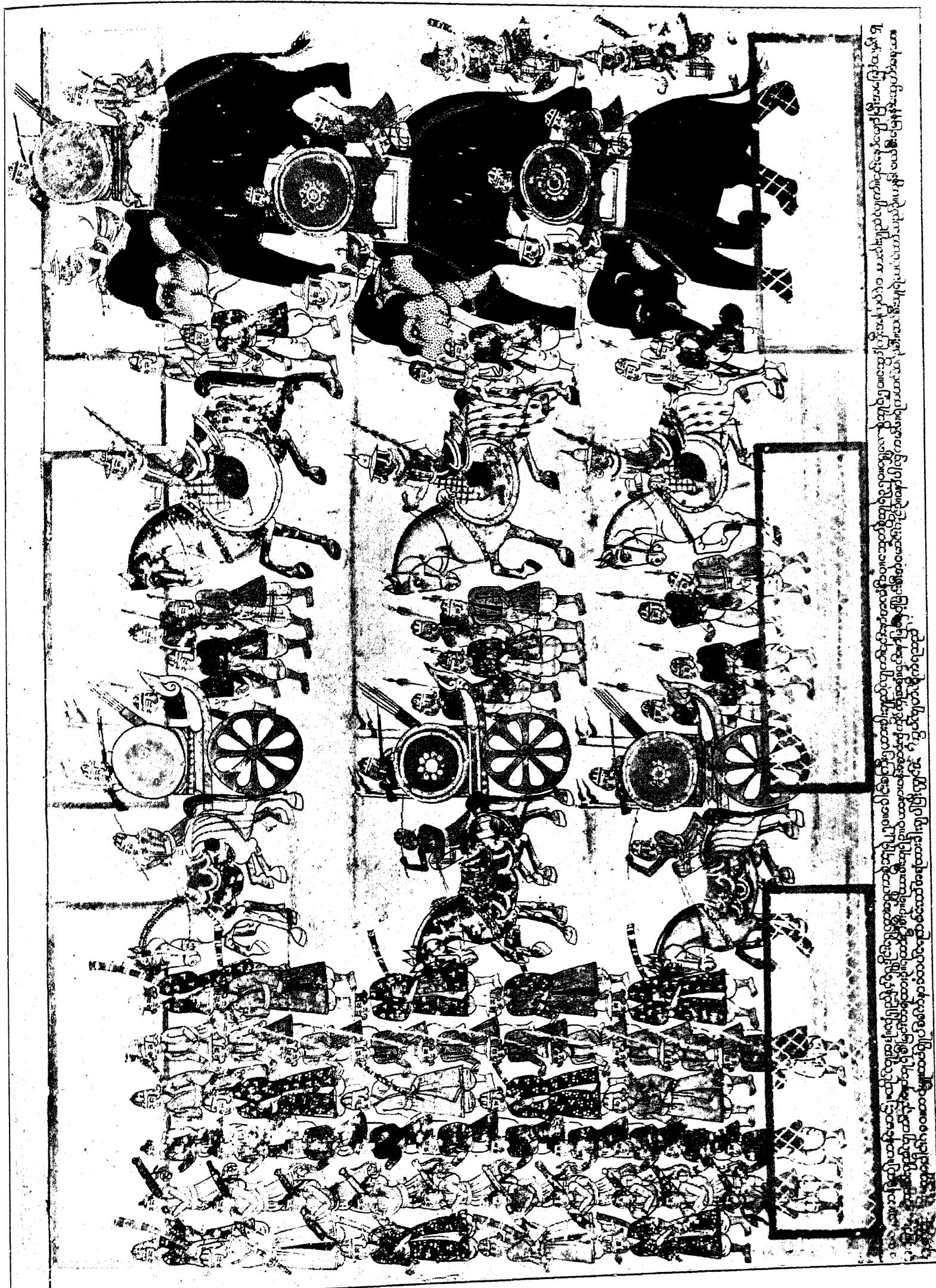
PLATE XIV.

Another battalion 810 strong, 13 lines deep; description as before; the 7th, 8th, 11th and 13th lines being officers. Three war-chariots followed by three war-elephants; up and down an elephant and horse of the police. On the right, first half of another and last or rear battalion; seven lines; usual description.

THE PAGEANT OF KING MINDON.

PLATE XV.

This is the last plate. On the left, the remaining ranks of the battalion on the right of the previous plate. Three war-chariots with attendants; three officers on horseback with attendants; three war-elephants, which bring up the rear of the procession.



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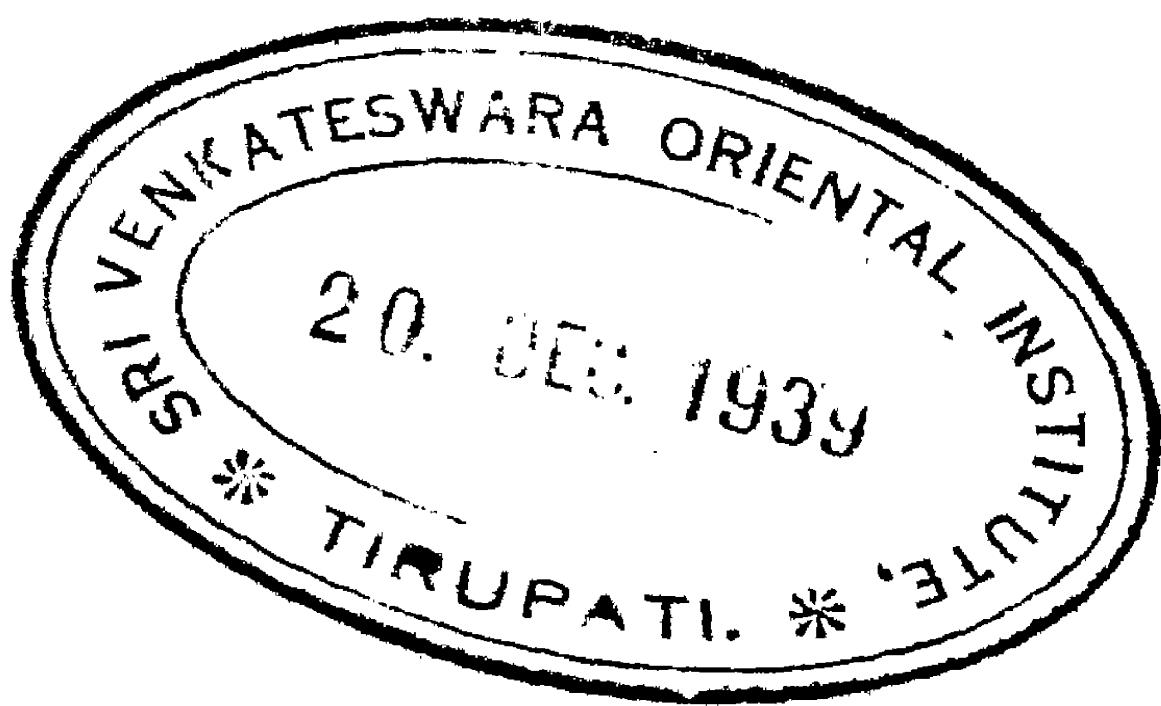
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KON-BHAUNG-ZET-RAJAVAN, Burmese chronicle of the Alaungpaya dynasty; it gives a short
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KYAUKTAWGYI, image of Buddha carved at Mandalay out of a huge block of white marble brought
from the Sa-gyin quarry, 27, ii.
——, image (marble) of Buddha placed in a small temple near the foot of the Manda-
lay Hill, 27, i.
——, a short account of the —— is found in two Burmese chronicles, 27, ii.
LET-WE-GYAUNG, Burmese name meaning literally "Left Course" given to a regiment which
had to march on the left when occasion required, 27, 7.
LET-YA-GYAUNG, Burmese name meaning literally "Right Course" given to a regiment which
had to march on the right when occasion required, 27, 7.
MANDALAY, British occupation of —— in 1885, 27, ii.
——, Headquarters of the Burmese standing army, 27, ii.
MANDALAY HILL, situated at the north-east corner outside the walls of the Golden City now
known as Fort Dufferin. It is 832 feet in height commanding the whole of the town of
Mandalay and many miles of the surrounding country, 27, i and ii.
MANDALAY-RAJAVAN, Burmese chronicle of the two last reigns of the Alaungpaya dynasty
it gives a short account of the Kyauktawgyi, 27, ii, note 2.
MANIPUR, horsemen from —— were distinguished from others by their peculiar Nāga- or cobra-
headdress, 27, 2.
MARSHALL, SIR JOHN, Director-General of Archæology in India, 27, i.
MINDON, KING, erected the small temple containing the Kyauktawgyi Image. He was the
founder of Mandalay and the builder of the Palace therein, 27, ii.

- MINDON, KING, left the Golden Palace to dedicate the Kyauktawgyi at Mandalay, 27, 1.
 ———, (1853-78) the last king but one of Burma, 27, i.
- MIN-WUN-KALA-BYO, Foreign legion of King Mindon, 27, 7.
- MYAUK-DAWE, native name meaning literally "North Tavoy" given to a Burmese regiment.
 It was so called because the men constituting it originally were from Tavoy and had a north wing of the Palace assigned to them, 27, 8.
- MYAUK-MARABIN, native name meaning literally "north Marabin" (or Mayapin) given to a body of Burmese troops levied from Mayapin, a village in the Madaya Township and Sub-division of Mandalay District. They were called Myauk (north) Marabin because they had to live on the north side of the Palace, 27, 8.
- MYO-WUN, Governor of the City (Mandalay), 27, 1.
- NAGA, a cobra; the headdress of the horsemen from Manipur was in the form of a cobra, 27, 2.
- NYAUNG-YWE, a state in the Central Division of the Southern Shan States, 27, ii.
- ORCHESTRA, Burmese ——, 27, 4, 7, 12.
 ———, Siamese ——, 27, 3, 5.
 ———, Talaing ——, 27, 4.
- PALACE, King Mindon left his —— at Mandalay on the 16th of May 1865 to dedicate the Kyauktawgyi Image, 27, i.
- PARABAIK, Burmese folding book of varying size, which was commonly used in Burma. It consists of paper made from the bark of a species of *daphne*, which is agglutinated into a kind of pasteboard and blackened with a paste of charcoal. It is then folded backward and forward and written on with a steatite pencil, 27, i and ii.
 ———, contains the representations of the pageant of King Mindon, 27, i.
- PORTUGUESE, descendants of —— colonists served the artillery in King Mindon's army, 27, ii.
- PATTAY, Burmese piano consisting of twenty-two to twenty-five pieces of iron or bamboo suspended in the form of an inverted arc, in a wooden case, 27, 4.
- SA-GYIN QUARRY, a hill some twenty-four miles to the north of Mandalay, 808 feet high, and famous for its beautiful white marble, 27, ii.
- SAWBWA, a Shan Chief, 27, ii.
- SHWE-MYO-DAW, Golden City, *i.e.*, Mandalay within the walls, which, since the British occupation in 1885, is known as Fort Dufferin, 27, ii.
- SHWE-PYI-YAN-AUNG, Burmese appellation meaning literally "Golden City Victory" given to the Burmese lancers, 27, 2.
- SHWE-PYI-ZO, Alderman of the city (Mandalay) who had in his charge a gong completely gilt called the *Shwe-pyi-zo* gong, which was beaten and carried before him whenever he went to and came back from the Police Court, of which he was one of the officers, 27, 1.
- SWINHOE, MR. R. C. J., Owner of the original paintings, 27, i.
 ———, The *parabaik*, containing the representations of the pageant of King Mindon belongs to ——, 27, i.
- TAUNG-DAWE, native name meaning literally "South Tavoy" given to a Burmese regiment. It was so called because the men constituting it originally were from Tavoy and had a south wing of the Palace assigned to them, 27, 8.
- THUYEGYI, the Royal Body-guards were called the ——, meaning "Great Warriors", 27, 7.
- THWE-THAUK-GYI, Subordinate Military officer who was in command of fifty men, 27, 3.
- YWE-LET-WE, Burmese name meaning literally "Ywe-Left" given to the Left Wing of a regiment, the troops composing which were drawn probably from Ywe-su, a village in the Madaya Township and Sub-division of Mandalay District, north-east of Thalwinbyu, 27, 7.

YWE-LET-YA, Burmese name meaning literally "Ywe Right" given to the Right Wing of a regiment, the troops composing which were drawn probably from Ywe-su, a village in the Madaya Township and Sub-division of Mandalay District, north-east of Thalwinbyu,
27, 7.

ZAMAYI, a kind of mythical flying horse, 27, 11.

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No. 28

BHASA AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF
THE THIRTEEN TRIVANDRUM
PLAYS

BY
HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L.



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FOREWORD.

The perusal of a drama named *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi* by Saktibhadra, sent to me by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanyam Aiyar, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, and its similarity with the thirteen Trivandrum plays led me to study the authorship of the latter, which have been hitherto ascribed to Bhāsa, known as one of the oldest and most renowned playwrights of India. The present paper is the result of that study, which demolishes the structure fondly built by the distinguished discoverer and editor of these plays and his followers.

It is a painful task to destroy the cherished theory of another, but it appeared to me that the misleading arguments hitherto advanced in favour of Bhāsa's authorship required exposition, and I regret this could not be done without giving prominence to the destructive method, which is generally unpleasant. I admit the value of the contributions which various scholars have made towards the solution of this very difficult problem, and I do not claim that my thesis finally settles the question. I have merely hinted at the source of these plays with the hope that it will evoke a further analysis of the situation, leading to the discovery of the real author.

I am extremely grateful to Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., Litt. D., F.S.A., Director General of Archaeology in India, whose keen interest for augmenting the cause of Oriental learning and kind appreciation of my humble labours have induced him to publish this thesis as a memoir in the Archaeological series. I am no less indebted to Dr. Sten Konow of Kristiania (OSLO) and to my life-long friend Rai Bahadur Hiralal of the Central Provinces, both of whom read over my paper and offered valuable criticism which enabled me to revise a part of it so as to strengthen the arguments put forward by me.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

FEENHILL, THE NILGIRIS :

The 8th November 1924.

BHASA AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE THIRTEEN TRIVANDRUM PLAYS.

IN 1912 Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstri of Trivandrum announced the discovery of thirteen plays which were 'neither seen nor heard of before.' He edited them very carefully and published them in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, which called forth high commendation from Sanskrit scholars not only in India but in Europe and America as well. Although the MSS. mentioned no author, he ascribed them to Bhāsa, the renowned ancient playwright of India and gave his reasons which satisfied many Sanskritists, who accepted his theory, except a few like Dr. Barnett in Europe and Mr. Bhāttanātha Svāmī in India. The latter raised a discordant voice, but their opposition was lost in the whirlwind of approbation of a novelty, which at once struck the imagination rather than the discretion of the discoverer's followers. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar has very recently given an exhaustive bibliography in one of his articles entitled "*Studies in Bhāsa*" in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,¹ where he has mentioned all that had so far appeared on the subject both in favour of and against the view first propounded by the editor and discoverer of the plays. All this time I was myself a believer in the Bhāsa theory, and it was only this year that my faith was rudely shaken by the perusal of a drama named *Āścharyachūḍāmanī*, written by Śaktibhadra (said to have been a contemporary of Sankarāchārya, the great philosopher of India). This drama, which was partly published some years ago at Calicut with a Sanskrit commentary and is fairly well known in the Kerala country, exhibited so marked a resemblance to some of the thirteen plays which have been attributed to Bhāsa that I was led to examine the various points raised in support of the Bhāsa theory. This investigation has convinced me that the theory is impregnated with a defect which Sanskritists call *ativyāpti*. It is, therefore, untenable. The question is not only important from a literary point of view, but it has a special bearing on archæological studies as well. I am, therefore, tempted to traverse what may be called a beaten track and place the result of my investigation before scholars with the hope that it will tend to remove the delusion that has been working upon us for the long period of twelve years.

¹ 1922-23, pp 231ff.

At the outset I propose to give a summary of what has been adduced in favour of the Bhāsa theory as the *pūrva-paksha* and thereafter to examine it in the light of my study of the whole problem. Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstrī's arguments form the basis and the mainstay of this view, the language question and sundry other points being adduced as additional supports. His chief reasons are the following :—

I. All the 13 plays show a close resemblance to one another in the language employed and the method of expressing the ideas.

- (a) They, as a rule, begin with the stage direction नान्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः and then introduce the *mangala-sloka* or benedictory stanza.
- (b) Instead of the word *prastāvanā* they use the term *sthāpanā*.
- (c) The *nāṭakas*, written by Kālidāsa and other dramatists of a later date mention in the prologue, according to the canons of Bharata, the author of the play and some of his works in terms of praise. The Trivandrum plays do not exhibit this feature.
- (d) The *Bharatavākyam* or closing sentence in these plays is written in a way which is different from that of similar stanzas found in other dramas.

These facts would show that the author of the Trivandrum plays was one and the same, and he lived prior to the writers like Kālidāsa, who had to follow certain canonical injunctions with regard to their compositions, which did not come into force during his time.

II. Vāmana, Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha and other rhetoricians have quoted these plays which, therefore, must have been written prior to the time when these authorities flourished.

III. Tradition ascribes the authorship of a play named *Svapnavāsavadattā* to Bhāsa. One of these plays bears that appellation. Therefore, it must be the work of Bhāsa. Again, as all these plays closely resemble each other, in all probability, they were written by one and the same author, that is to say, because one of them, namely, *Svapnavāsavadattā* was composed by Bhāsa, the rest must have also been written by him.

IV. These plays are characterised by an intensity of *rasa* or sentiment, a marvellously exquisite flow of language and an all-round grace of poetical elegance such as is to be met with in the works of ancient *rishis* like Vālmīki and Vyāsa. Therefore, their author also was a similar *rishi* and an ancient writer, who lived long before Kālidāsa and other playwrights, when Sanskrit was a spoken language.

V. The author of these plays has used archaic forms of words which are not in accordance with the aphorisms of Pāṇini and are, therefore, *apapravayogas* or solecisms. Notwithstanding this fact, Kālidāsa and other standard writers imitated him, adapting his language and ideas, for they looked upon him as a *rishi*. Therefore, he preceded not only these writers but even Pāṇini, the great grammarian. Moreover, Kālidāsa speaks of Bhāsa as an ancient writer. Obviously, therefore, the Trivandrum plays, which were composed by Bhāsa, must have been written long before Kālidāsa.

VI. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya¹ a verse is found which must be a quotation from the *Pratijñānatikā* or *Pratijñāyaugandharāyana*, where it occurs in the fourth

¹ Adhika. 10, Adhyāya 3.

Therefore, the author of this play and, consequently, of the whole series must have lived before Kauṭilya, the great politician of ancient India.

Dr. F. W. Thomas in his note, which appeared in the *Journal¹ of the Royal Asiatic Society* some two years ago, has supplemented these arguments to some extent. His arguments may be summed up like this :—(i) Bhāsa is an ancient writer. As we learn from authorities like Bāṇa or Rājaśekhara, he composed several plays (*nāṭakachakra*). One of them was named *Svapnavāsavadattā*. If the Trivandrum play of this designation is not the work of Bhāsa, the author has “plagiarised” the title. The known facts, however, show that this is an impossibility in as much as Sanskrit *nāṭakas* have distinct titles even if they are plagiaristic, e.g., the *Mahānāṭaka*, the *Chārudatta* or the *Mṛicchhakaṭikā*. So in all probability this is the very play which was composed by Bhāsa himself. (ii) The Trivandrum *Vāsavadattā* was in the ninth century a famous play, which was quoted by Vāmana in the *Kāvyālāñkārasūtravṛitti*. A work of this name is mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his *Bharatanātyavedavivṛiti* and in the *Dhvanyālokalochana*. Yet we are never told that there were two famous dramas of this name. This circumstance also would point towards the same conclusion. (iii) The Trivandrum plays were famous in the seventh century A. D., perhaps even before, as Bhāmaha refers to the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyana*. Abhinavagupta names the *Daridrachārudatta* and Vāmana quotes not only the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, but the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyana* and the *Chārudatta* also. If the author of these works is not Bhāsa, he is quite unknown. It is hardly likely that he suppressed his own name with a view to father his works upon Bhāsa. (iv) All these plays are not only similar in structure, style and matter worthy of a master-mind, like that of Bhāsa, but impress us by their freshness and vigour evincing a direct derivation from the ‘epics’. This fact combined with the circumstance that a good deal of borrowing from these plays is to be seen in the works of Kālidāsa would lead to the inference that their author lived long before the latter.

Besides these arguments, much has been made of the Prākṛit of these dramas to support the Bhāsa theory. Dr. Wilhelm Printz in his pamphlet, named *Bhāsa's Prākṛit²*, has worked out this point in detail. So also Drs. Sukthankar and Banerji as well as other scholars in their respective contributions. Instances like those of the accusative plural masculine in *āni* found in the edicts of Aśoka and the plays of Aśvaghosha have been elicited from these dramas as unmistakable evidences of their high antiquity. Yet another argument is brought forward in favour of the theory. It is this. The first few acts of the famous play called *Mṛicchhakaṭikā* and one of the Trivandrum plays, namely *Chārudatta*, closely resemble each other and are almost identical. Dr. Georg Morgenstierne has very carefully worked out this point and brought out all the identical passages of these two plays in his *Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛicchhakaṭikā*. His comparison leads us to the conclusion, which is rather irresistible, that one must be the copy of the other. Those who are committed to the Bhāsa theory hold that the *Mṛicchhakaṭikā* is only an amplification or adaptation of the *Chārudatta*. According to these scholars Kālidāsa only borrowed ideas and

Leipzig 1921.

¹ 1922 ; pp. 79-83.² Frankfurt, A. M. 1921.

expressions from some of the Trivandrum plays, but the author of the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* incorporated entire acts of one of these dramas into his work and credited them to himself. The *Mṛīchchhakatikā* is a fairly old *nāṭaka*. The *Chārudatta* which forms the basis of it, must be considerably older and so it must be the work of Bhāsa. Further, some of the scholars holding this view quote from the *Harshacharita*¹ the following verse in support of the theory—

सूचधारक्तारम्भैर्नाटकैर्वह्मूमिकैः ।
सप्ताकैर्यशो लिभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥

“Bhāsa gained as much splendour by his plays with introductions spoken by the manager, full of various characters, and furnished with startling episodes, as he would have done by the erection of temples, created by architects, adorned with several stories, and decorated with banners.”²

They say that the epithets applied to Bhāsa here and in other Sanskrit works can be very fittingly used for the author of the Trivandrum plays. Jayadeva in the *Prasannarāghava* speaks of Bhāsa as the “laugh of poetry” (*Bhāso hāsah*). Vākpati in his *Gaudavaho* calls him “friend of fire” (*Jalana-mitte*), on which Dr. A. Berriedale Keith seems to lay great stress in his work “*The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice*”, which has very recently come out.³ In the Chapter which he has devoted to Bhāsa he seems to have merely repeated what has been adduced by other scholars in support of the hypothesis without adding anything new, except a few rather dogmatic assertions or sweeping remarks against the opponents. To him the arguments and evidence brought forward so far to disprove Bhāsa’s authorship are all inconclusive and inadequate.

The above arguments have been very recently supplemented by Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstrī by a contribution to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, where he claims a final triumph for his pet theory (see pp. 668-9 of the October No. for 1924). In that note, he extracts some passages from the *Bhāvaprakāśa* and the *Śringāraprakāśa*, which mention the *Svapnavāsavadattā* by name and one of them quotes a verse चिरप्रसुप्तः etc. which is actually found in the Trivandrum *Svapnanāṭaka*. He is so elated with these discoveries that he exclaims:—“Had I obtained these before, there would not have been the slightest discussion over my view that Bhāsa was the author of this *Svapnavāsavadattā* (meaning the Trivandrum *Svapnanāṭakam*). Luckily my opinion has now been vindicated.” This is, I believe, the sum total of what has been said and argued in favour of the Bhāsa theory.

Let us now see how far these arguments can hold good. The first point requiring consideration is the circumstance that the Trivandrum plays begin with the entry of a *sūtradhāra* and, therefore, on the authority of Bāṇa, should be attributed to Bhāsa. This argument will at once lose its force when we find that in Southern India, at least, there are several *nāṭakas* which similarly begin with the entry of a *sūtradhāra* or stage-director but were certainly not written by Bhāsa. One of such works, as was pointed out by Dr. Barnett long ago⁴, is the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*, a highly interesting farce

¹ I. 15.

² Translation by Cowell & Thomas, p. 3.

³ Oxford, Clarendon Press 1924.

⁴ J. R. A. S. 1919, pp. 233-4.

which was composed by the Pallava king Mahendravikrama, the son and successor of Simhavishnu, who flourished in the first quarter of the 7th century A. D. The second play showing the same characteristics is the *Āścharyachūḍāmani* of Saktibhadra, which has been mentioned above. The third drama coming under this category is the *Kalyāṇasaugandhika* of Nilakantha.¹ Other dramas showing the same feature are the *Tapatīsamvarana* and the *Subhadrādhanañjaya*, both of which were written by Kulaśekharavarmman, a Kerala king of about the 11th century A. D. We further notice that these dramas use the term *sthāpanā* instead of *prastāvanā*. Other instances will be supplied by the *Padmaprābhṛitaka* of Śūdraka, the *Dhūrtariṭasamvāda* of Īśvaradatta, the *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuchi, and the *Pādatāḍitaka* of Syāmilaka which have already been published. Moreover, we find that the *Āścharyachūḍāmani*² introduces itself with the words³ *aye kinnu khalu mayi vijñāpanavyagre śabda iva śrūyate* etc., just as some of the Trivandrum plays do.⁴ These facts conclusively show that it is wrong to draw conclusions from the way in which the prologues of some of these plays were written. As some of the works I have mentioned were probably composed in the South, it would appear likely that this was only a *sailī* or habit of the *dākṣiṇātyas* or southerners of the period. No stress could, therefore, be laid on it in the matter of ascribing certain works to a special author, in view of different writers having adopted the same mode of starting their plays with the words नान्द्यन्ते etc. The view held by Dr. Banerji that it was Bhāsa who introduced the change for the first time and, therefore, Bāṇa characterized his works as begun by a *sūtradhāra* can hardly commend itself, when we remember what Viśvanātha has stated about the point in the *Sāhityadarpana*. He says⁵ that in ancient manuscripts the *nāndī* verses, like *Vedānteshu*⁶ etc., are found written after the words *nāndyante sūtradhārah*. This clearly demonstrates that it was only a method of writing. Viśvanātha must have seen old manuscript copies of the *Vikramorvaśī* and other plays where the benedictory verses were

¹ The weakness of the argument, I fancy, has been recognised by Dr. Keith who, while reviewing Dr. Morgens-tierne's work entitled "Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛichchakaṭikā in the Indian Antiquary, (Vol. LII, 1923, page 60), says that it would certainly be a *non sequitur* to conclude that the Trivandrum plays are Bhāsa's, simply because they are begun by the *sūtradhāra*. Though he has modified this remark by saying that owing to this decidedly noteworthy fact the plays are eligible to be considered as Bhāsa's, I think the *atīryāpit* which I have shown vitiates the argument.

² In the third session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Madras two more dramas were announced which display the same features, but were written by other authors. They are entitled *Dāmaka* and *Traivikrama* (see *Summary of Papers*, page III).

³ Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar tells me that he noticed this similarity more than two years ago and worked it out in a paper that has not yet come out. Messrs. A. Krishna Pisharoti and K. Rama Pisharoti have also recently noted it in their article entitled "Bhāsa's works—are they genuine?" where they have printed the whole of the prologue and announced their intention of bringing out an edition of this interesting play very soon.

⁴ The *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuchi also gives them.

⁵ Ch. VI. pp. 279-80, Bombay N. S. 1922—

अत एव प्राक्तनपुस्तकेषु 'नान्द्यन्ते सूचधारः' इत्यनल्लरमेव 'वेदान्तेषु' इत्यादिश्चोक्तिखिनं दृश्यते । यत्त पश्यत् 'नान्द्यन्ते । सूचधार इति लिखितं तस्याधमभिग्रायः नान्द्यन्ते सूचधार इदं प्रयोजितवाऽहं इतः प्रभृति मथा नाटकसुपाठोयत इति कवेरभिग्रायः सूचित इति ।

⁶ The first benedictory stanza of the *Vikramorvaśī*.

placed after this phrase, or to use the expression of Bāṇa, which began with the *sūtradhāra*. He further says that the insertion of these words after the *nāndī* means that the *nāṭaka* proper would start thenceforth. Thus, according to Viśvanātha (who though not very old is yet considered to be an authority on *sāhitya*), the use of these words before or after the *nāndī* becomes immaterial as indicating a peculiarity of any particular author. It is true that we are not in possession of the original manuscripts, but only of comparatively late copies of these plays, still Viśvanātha's evidence is there, and we have no reason to disbelieve it. In this connection it may be remarked that *nāndī* is not an absolutely necessary commencement, as some plays start without it. Sivarāma in his commentary¹ on the *Nāgānanda* has expressly said so in the words केचित् तामध्यतीव नान्द्यन् इत्येवारभन्ते. That this is so is illustrated by the play called *Pradyumnābhyudaya* which was composed by King Ravivarman of Quilon, who, according to Mr. Ganapati Sāstrī,² flourished about 1265 A. D. Another instance of this kind will be furnished by one of the Trivandrum plays itself, namely, the *Chārudatta*, which has no *nāndī* at all. It would appear that the actors had some liberty in chanting benedictory verses and starting a play. This is, perhaps, what Viśvanātha meant when he remarked—

Sāhityadarpana,
p. 279.

उक्तप्रकारायाच्च नान्द्या रङ्गद्वाराव्यथमं नटैरेव कर्त्तव्यतया न महेषिणा निर्देशः क्वतः ।

The question of conformity to the *Bharata-vākyam* I would similarly attribute to practice or *sailī* only. The Trivandrum plays themselves are not uniform in structure with regard to the canons laid down in the *Bharatanātyasāstra*. I doubt if the author of these dramas was totally unaware³ of this *sāstra*, judging from the words of the *vidūshaka* addressed to the *cheti* in one of these plays called *Avimāraka*, though Bharata is not named there.

Nor will the other points raised in this connection such as the omission of the author's name, the description of certain scenes not allowed by Bharata and the absence of the *Bharata-vākyam* help us in upholding the theory. The mention of the author or his praise in the introduction is what is called *prarochanā* which is meant to attract the audience. If an author has to make his reputation, he may not mention his name till his fame has been established, or he may be taking some liberty with regard to these points in not following Bharata for some local reasons, such as the taste of the time, etc. In any case these are not the only plays which possess these characteristics. There are others which have now been published and display similar features. Of the four *Bhāṇas* mentioned above only the *Pādatādītaka* gives the name of the author in the *sthāpanā*, not the rest. I am further supported by another old work that has recently been brought to our notice. It is a *Prahasana* entitled *Bhagaradajjuka* which has lately been published in the pages⁴ of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* by Professor A. P. Banerji. We are not quite sure of its authorship or time. According to a stanza found on one of the manuscripts of this work in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, it is an old composition by a poet called

¹ T. S. S. No. LIX, p. 2.

² Introduction to the *Pradyumnābhyudaya*, p. viii, T. S. S. No. VIII.

³ Dr. Sten Konow thinks that there cannot be any doubt that the author of the *Avimāraka* knew Bharata, a clear reference to his work being found on p. 16 of that play.

⁴ Vol. X (1924), Parts I and II, pp. i—xxiii.

Bodhāyana.¹ The Māmandur inscription of Mahendravarman I, a good edition of which has recently come out in one of the publications² of the Indian Archaeological Department, mentions it, though unfortunately the line where the name occurs is very badly mutilated. The name of Vyāsa comes before and that of the *Mattavilāsa* shortly after it, the intervening *aksharas* having been obliterated. The *Mattavilāsaprahasana*, as already stated, is the work of the accomplished Pallava ruler Mahendravarman. Why both these farces should be named rather one after the other, we have now no means to ascertain. But it appears to me that the *Bhagavadajjuka* was an earlier composition and the *Mattavilāsa* was modelled after it. The former exposes the preceptors of the yoga practices, ridicules the followers of the Sāṅkhya system, the physicians and the grammarians of the time as well as the followers of the Buddha. Still, its author does not appear to be very severe in his sarcasms, and the persons he has introduced are not so degenerate as they are shown in the latter work, namely, the *Mattavilāsa*. At any rate the Buddhist monk is not so low as he is in the latter. Śāṇḍilya of the *Bhagavadajjuka* praises Buddha specially for his punctilious care of food—

‘आहारप्पमादो सव्यप्पमादोत्ति चिन्तन्तस्स एमो भद्रवदो बुद्धस्स’

and his behaviour towards the lifeless body of the courtesan, or the words³—

. . . एदाणि तालफलपोणाणि काले अचन्दणाणुलित्तानि अणधोमुहाणि तत्तहोदोए
यणाणि, अधस्सस्स मम जीवन्ति ए आसादिदाणि !

cannot reflect creditably on his personal conduct or the followers of the great Tathāgata of that period. But compare him with the Śākyabikshu of the *Mattavilāsa*, who, while extolling the “great teacher” of the age for allowing the *bhikshu-saṅgha* or community of friars to indulge in various comforts or luxurious ways of life wants full liberty with women and wine as well. The former exhibits a little restraint, but the latter does not. This contrast is marked and would show how low the followers of the Buddha must have fallen, when the Pallava king wrote his farce. The piece itself does not name its author. Nor does it mention the time when it was written. The Bodhāyana of the manuscripts spoken of above is, for the present, an unknown writer. Therefore, to draw any inference regarding his time we have to depend on the internal evidence only. The fact that the farce is mentioned in the Māmandur inscription would show that it cannot be later than the end of the 6th or the commencement of the 7th century of the Christian era, or the time of Mahendravikrama⁴ who flourished about

¹ Mr. Sarasvati of the Madras Epigraphical office was good enough to send me the following two verses one of which he found written on a manuscript of the *Bhagavadajjuka* and the other on that of its commentary in the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras. Both would show that the farce was composed by a Kavi called Bodhāyana. In one of these verses it is called *pralna* or old. They respectively run as follows:—

(1) बीधायनकविरचितं बीधायतनं विमुक्तिशास्त्राणाम् । प्रहसनरबं प्रदं भवेत् सुदे भगवदज्जुकीयं वः ॥
(2) बीधायनकविरचिते विष्णाते भगवदज्जुकाभिहिते । अभिनैर्जटिगभीरे विशदानधुना करोनि श्वार्थान् ॥

The name of the commentator, too, seems to be unknown.

² Vol. XLIV I. S., *South Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Vol. IV, No. 136, plate III, line 6. In the transcript given here *m* has been put in place of *bh* evidently by an oversight.

³ Page XVI.

⁴ Mr. A. P. Banerji would take it to the 2nd century A. D. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 90) but remembering the time when the *Mattavilāsa* was written, I doubt if we can take it back so far on the evidence of “religious animosity” or even archaic forms.

600 to 625 A. D. Further, it would appear that it was in all probability written after the *Mṛīchchhakatikā*. The latter drama like this farce shows no disrespect towards Buddhism, although it is clearly a Brahmanical composition. The names of some of the *dramatis personæ* in this farce appear to have been taken from the *Mṛīchchhakatikā*. The *ajjukā* or courtesan in it, for instance, is called *Vasantasenā* after the heroine of this drama, so also her servants.

That the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* was written by Mahendravarman is too well known to be proved. In any case the *Bhagavadajjuka* can very well be relegated to a period prior to that of Bāṇa. It begins with the *sūtradhāra* and does not mention the author either in the introduction or elsewhere. Its introduction is called *sthāpanā* and not *prastāvanā*, and it has no general prayer or the *Bharata-vākyam*, such as we see in later dramas. It uses old Prākrit forms as is shown below. In addition to all this it has introduced a scene which is not permitted to be staged—I mean the death of the *Ajjukā*—by Bharata or the rhetoricians who followed his canons. Besides this, the ten species of plays enunciated in this piece are, to some extent, different from those mentioned by these rhetoricians. The *Vārehāmṛīga* and also the *Utsṛiṣṭikā*, as Prof. Banerji has already noticed, do not appear to be known to them. Viśvanātha gives *Ullāpya* as one of the eighteen *uparūpakas* or minor dramas counting the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakarana* among the ten varieties of a *rūpaka* or drama. The *Bhagavadajjuka* names *Sallāpa* along with the *Prahasana* among the ten species which it considers to have come out of the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakarana* form of the drama. This would show that the author of the farce followed the laws of dramaturgy, which were somewhat different from those laid down in the current *Nātyaśāstra* of Bharata. In other words he followed a different school or system current in his time. That he could not have lived before Bharata is clear from the play itself, as I have remarked already. Besides, the non-observance of Bharata's rules does not necessarily indicate that the writer was older than one who observed those rules.

As to the argument based on the *Bharata-vākyam*, I might add that the Trivandrum plays are not uniform in this respect. Some of them have colophons or closing stanzas which are different from those in the rest. The so-called *Svapnanāṭaka* and the *Bālacharita* have *imām sāgaraparyantām*, etc., the *Pratiñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, the *Avimāraka* and the *Abhishekanāṭaka* have *bhavantvarajaso gāvah*, etc., with *imām api mahīm*, etc., at the end. Three of these plays, namely, the *Karnabhāra*, the *Chārudatta* and the play of the “unknown” name have no *Bharata-vākyam* at all. Besides, it is to be observed that the customary or usual phrase with which a Sanskrit *nāṭaka* would close is to be seen in some of these plays. The *Bālacharita*, for instance, has

दासोदरः—देवर्षे ! परित्थोक्ति । किं ते भूयः प्रियमुपहरामि ।

भरतवाक्यं etc.

The *Avimāraka* has—

नारदः—कुन्तिभोज ! किमन्यत् ते प्रियमुपहरामि ।

कुन्तिभोजः—भगवान् यदि मे प्रसन्नः किमतः परमहीमच्छामि ।

भरतवाक्यं—भवन्त्वरजसो गावः etc.

and so on, showing that some of these plays have got a *Bharata-vākya*. Here it would be interesting to point out that the four *Bhāṇas* (*Chaturbhāṇi*) spoken of above, exhibit practically the same feature. The *Padmaprābhritaka* of Śūdraka and the *Pādatāditaka* of Syāmilaka have no *Bharatavākyam*. The *Dhūrtavīṭasamvāda* of Iśvaradatta and the *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuchi end in stanzas which are not dissimilar to some of the concluding verses of the Trivandrum *nāṭakas*, for the former has

इमामपि भवेत् पातु राजा सागरमेखलाम् ॥

and the latter प्रोति प्राप्नोतु सर्वा क्षितिमधिकगुणं पालयन्वो नरेन्द्रः ॥

Therefore, the arguments adduced to prove that these plays were written before the *Bharatanāṭyaśāstra*¹ was composed fall flat on the ground having no force in them.

The second argument, which is, apparently, the mainstay of the Bhāsa theory seems to be the title of one of these plays. Although some of the manuscripts consulted by Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstrī gave the name of *Svapnanāṭakam* to the drama, yet it was rather presumed that the real designation was *Svapnavāśavadattā*. It has now been clearly shown that it is so because Bhojadeva in the 11th century and Sāradātanaya in the 12th century knew this *nāṭaka* by that name. Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstrī in his note which he has contributed to the last October number of the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*² (pp. 668-869) feels so jubilant over this discovery of his that he would now dispense with all the arguments as unnecessary and consider the question as finally settled. Dr. Thomas too has placed much reliance on this designation as noticed before. The futility of such a reasoning would be clear, if we remember what Professor Sylvain Lévi has stated in his highly interesting article which appeared last year in the *Journal Asiatique* and to which attention has now been drawn by Dr. Barnett in his note in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.³ Rāmachandra and Gunachandra in their *Nāṭyadarpana* quote a verse from a *Svapnavāśavadattā* ascribed by them to Bhāsa, and describe the situation in which it occurs, "but neither of these can be traced in the Trivandrum play. Sāgaranandin in his *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* quotes a passage from a *Svapnavāśavadattā*, which does not agree with the Trivandrum text." Further, as I have shown below and as is recognised by Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstrī himself, Abhinavagupta quotes a verse in his commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka*, namely, *Dhvanyālokalochana* from a *Svapnavāśavadattā*, which is not to be found in the Trivandrum *nāṭaka* of that name. It will be too much to expect from imagination that all these ancient authors were "grievously mistaken" in attributing their quotations to Bhāsa or the *Svapnavāśavadattā*. Obviously therefore, the Trivandrum play cannot be the *Svapnavāśavadattā* of Bhāsa and there must have been at least two dramas of that name. That one and the same name was given by Sanskrit authors to different works is demonstrated by the fact that there were at least two *Kalyāṇasauḍīghikas*³

¹ Some, however (see above, p. 13, foot note), hold that Bharata is older and the writer of the Trivandrum plays knew his *śāstra*. If it is so, the arguments based on the prologues or the concluding stanzas of these plays would be self-contradictory, and the circumstance that these dramas introduce scenes which are not allowed by Bharata will only support my view that their writer followed a different school or canon.

² 1924, p. 656.

³ Barnett, *ibid.*, p. 656. While correcting the proofs I found that this interesting point has been further investigated by Drs. V. S. Sukthankar (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, 1925, pp. 126 ff) and L. D. Barnett (*J. R. A. S.*, 1925, p. 99), and Mr. C. R. Devadhar (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1924-25, part I, pp. 55 ff.). Dr. F. W. Thomas (*J. R. A. S.*, 1925, pp. 100-4) has endeavoured to meet the argument of Prof. Lévi but I do not think has succeeded in doing it.

and two *Bālacharitas*.¹ In this connection it looks interesting to observe that Saktibhadra, who according to tradition was a contemporary of Śaikarāchārya the Great, composed a “*kāvya*” which was called *Unmādavāsavadattā* and has not yet been found out. The term *unmāda* and *svapna* are almost synonymous. The name “*Kāvya*” is applied to both the *dṛīṣya* and *śravya* compositions. On this consideration one is tempted to think of the probable identity of the Trivandrum play with the work of Saktibhadra, especially when he remembers that some of these *nāṭakas* admittedly bear more than one appellation and the fact that the manuscripts of the *Āścharyachūḍāmani* are found along with those of some of the Trivandrum *nāṭakas*, as a reference to the catalogue of manuscripts in the Madras Library would show.²

To give some details in regard to what I have stated above, I may refer to Sarvānanda, an author of about the 12th century A. D., who in his commentary on the *Nāmalingānuśāsana* of Amarasiṁha gives clear evidence of Bhāsa’s *Svapnavāsavadattā* being different from the Trivandrum play. This has already been noticed by Bhattanātha Svāmī,³ who has given a very interesting quotation from a work called *Tāpasavatsarāja* in support of this inference. Mr. Ganapati Sāstri, too, has recognised this evidence. He has, however, tried to explain it away by proposing another reading. Sarvānanda⁴ says :—

त्रिविधः शृङ्गारो धर्मार्थकामभिनः । तत्राद्यो यथा नन्दयन्त्यां ब्राह्मणभोजनम् । द्वितीयः स्वदिशमात्मसालक्त्सुमुदयनस्य पद्मावतीपरिणयोऽर्थशृङ्गारः । तृतीयः स्वप्नवासवदत्ते तस्यैव वासवदत्तापरिणयः कामशृङ्गारः ।

The marriage of Padmāvatī is an instance of *arthaśringāra* or selfish love, but that of Vāsavadattā as described in the *Svapnavāsavadattā* is a case of *kāmaśringāra*.⁵ Now, the *Svapnavāsavadattā* of the Trivandrum series does not give an account of Vatsarāja’s marriage with Vāsavadattā. Surely, then, the *Svapnavāsavadattā* referred to by Sarvānanda must have been a different work altogether. Here it might be said that Abhinavagupta’s mention of the play in the words क्वचित् क्रीडा यथा स्वप्नवासवदत्तायां will favour the identification of the Trivandrum drama with the ancient *Svapnavāsavadattā* for, in the Trivandrum *nāṭaka* we do find Padmāvatī sporting with a ball although there is not much of *kriḍā* in it. But this fact has to be considered along with others. The Trivandrum drama could have been written after the real *Svapnavāsavadattā* of Bhāsa, which is still to be found out. The story being the same there could be several versions of it, and an incident might have been described in some or all of them. On the other hand, it seems to be pretty certain that according to Abhinavagupta himself the Trivandrum play cannot be the *Svapnavāsavadattā* to which he has referred, for it does not contain the quotation which he expressly states as taken from the latter. To illustrate the remark made by Ānandavardhana in the *Dhvanyāloka* that authors sometimes pay more attention to figures than to *rasa* or the sentiment in the composition—दृश्यन्ते च क्रवयोऽलङ्कारनिवन्धनैकरसा

¹ Mr. Ganapati Sāstri, Introduction to the *Svapnavāsavadattā* p. xxiv.

² See Nos. 12492-12493.

³ Ind. Ant. 1916, pp. 189-195.

⁴ T. S. S. No. XXXVIII, p. 1. 147.

⁵ In the same way the *Daridrachārudatta* alluded to by Abhinavagupta may not necessarily be the *Chāru-datta* of the Trivandrum series.

अनपेक्षितरसाः प्रबन्धेषु— he in his *Dhvanyālokalochana*¹ quotes the *Svapnavāsavadattā* as यथा स्वप्नवासवदत्ताख्ये नाटके

संचितपचमकपाटं नयनदारं स्वरूपतडनेन ? । उद्घाव्य सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगच्छं मे दृष्टनूजा ॥

But this verse, as has already been recognised by the editor and other scholars, does not occur in the Trivandrum play at all. One would make bold to say that it could not have occurred there, as it suits neither the Vāsavadattā nor the Padmāvatī of that drama. Apparently, as Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmī has already remarked, it speaks of love which sprang up all at once at the first sight of a lady. Vāsavadattā as introduced in the Trivandrum play was wedded long before and Padmāvatī was only offered to Vatsarāja, who did not woo her at all. This is shown by the answer which the nurse gave to Vāsavadattā²—

वासव — अर्थे ! सञ्चं एव्व तेण वरिदा ।

धाचौ — एहि एहि ! अणपश्चोअणेण इह आअदस्स अभिजणविज्ञाणवशोरुवं पेक्खिच्च सञ्चं एव्व महाराण दिणा ।

This negative evidence is too strong to be lightly passed over and would go a long way to contradict the Bhāsa theory. Dr. Thomas in his note, alluded to above, says that the verse is found in the *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Hemachandra, with obviously correct opening *svāñchita*. But even in this form it is not to be met with in the play. Were it actually found there, I am afraid, that alone would not suffice for proving its authorship by Bhāsa. It could have stood there as a mere quotation from the ancient Bhāsa and as such it would merely show the Trivandrum drama as a later production.

I may note here that in summarising the *pūrva-paksha* I have referred to Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstrī's new discoveries under No. 6 or miscellaneous arguments, because they came to my notice at a late stage. They really form part of the second argument and I ought to have dealt with them there. Keeping in view what has already been stated by Professor Sylvain Lévi in his learned article “*Deux Nouveaux Traites de Dramaturgie Indienne*” in the *Journal Asiatique*³ referred to above, I really wonder why so much importance has been given to the references found in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* and the *Śringāraprakāśa*. After all what do these references show? I doubt if they prove anything beyond this, that to the authors of the above-mentioned works, viz., Sāradātanaya and Bhojadeva, who according to Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstrī, flourished in the 12th and 11th centuries A. D. respectively, the Trivandrum play was known, as it is now, under the name of *Svapnavāsavadattā*. But how would it follow that the play was written by Bhāsa or that Bhāsa was the author of all the thirteen Trivandrum plays? I am glad that Dr. Barnett has already drawn the attention of scholars to Professor Lévi's article in his note which appears simultaneously⁴ with that of Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstrī and I need not dilate on it here. I repeat what I have said above that the *Nātyadarpana* of Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra and the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin make it quite clear that there must have been at least two plays of the name of *Svapnavāsavadattā*. Thus, the one by Bhāsa was different from the Trivandrum play. To me the ‘adamantine’ rock of Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstrī appears to

¹ P. 152, 3rd *Udyota*.

² P. 23.

³ Oct.-Decr. 1912-3, pp. 193 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Sten Konow for his kindly drawing my attention to this important article.

⁴ P. 656.

disintegrate faster than his old stones. Even without attributing plagiarism to the author of the Trivandrum plays one can easily explain the occurrence of identical *ślokas* in the works of two different authors. Pithy and telling utterances often assume the form of *subhāshitas* whose frequent use tends to cause an oblivion of their authors, rendering them a common property, which anybody might use as he liked. If the renowned Bhāsa's sporadic pieces acquired that merit, it would be no wonder to find them repeated in later works. In the matter of characters, too, it is an easy thing for a later writer to borrow from an earlier one. Thus the mere coincidence of a few characters would not warrant the conclusion that of such works the author was one and the same.

Daridrachārudatta is no doubt mentioned by Abhinavagupta, but how are we to assume the identity of it with the *Chārudatta* of the Trivandrum series, when none of the known manuscripts of the play give that name to it? That Vāmana quoted the verse *Śarachchhaśāṅka-gaureṇa*, etc., which occurs in the fourth act of the Trivandrum play, or the passage *yo bhartripindasya krite na yudhyet*, which is the fourth *pāda* of a certain *śloka* in the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyana*, or the verse *yāsām balir-bhavati*, etc., which is to be found in the piece called *Chārudatta* and that a part of the stanza *līmpatīra tamongāni*,¹ etc., occurring in the *Bālacharita* and the *Chārudatta* of the Trivandrum series, is to be found in the *Kāvyādarśa* of Dāṇḍin, can only show the priority of these works to Vāmana or Dāṇḍin, of course taking it for granted that these quotations are from these very works. They cannot demonstrate the authorship of the works, as these authorities do not ascribe them to Bhāsa. Most of these quotations are proverbial in nature, and it goes without saying that in ancient India there was a large stock of current sentences and stanzas on which different authors could draw without incurring the charge of plagiarism.

In the same way I doubt if any special importance can be given to what Mr. Ganapati Sāstrī calls Bhāmaha's review in the *Kāvyālankāra* or *Bhamahālankāra*. The story of Vatsarāja has been a very popular theme and several ancient Sanskrit writers have written it in their own ways. Bhāmaha makes no mention of Bhāsa or any other *kavi*, while illustrating the rhetorical blemish called *Nyāya-virodha*. Why to think of a particular poet then? The verse—

हतोऽनेन सम भाता सम पुत्रः पिता सम ।

मातुलो भागिनेयश्च रूपा संरच्छेतसः ॥ *Bhamahālankāra*, IV, 44.

no doubt has the same meaning, which a sentence in the play named *Pratijñāyaugandharāyana* has, at least partly,² but on what grounds are we to suppose that Bhāmaha was rendering the Prākṛit speech into Sanskrit? Why not think of another work which gave it in Sanskrit? Or let us take it for granted that he had the Trivandrum play or its author in view when he said—

नमोऽस्तु तेभ्यो विद्दुभ्यो येऽभिप्रायं कवेरिसम् ।
शास्त्रलोकावपास्यैव नयन्ति नयवेदिनः ॥ IV, 46.

¹ We should remember that this stanza is ascribed either to Vikramāditya or to both Menṭha and Vikramāditya but not to Bhāsa in any of the known anthologies.

² Hāṃsaka's speech, p. 13, rather differs, for it has—

अथेष्व सम भादा इदो, अथेष्व सम पिदा,
अथेष्व सम सुदो भीम वयस्स त्ति ।

The inference which can be safely drawn under these circumstances is that he must be posterior to, if not a contemporary of that author, for contemporary writers are often found criticising each other. Bhāmaha cannot be so old as some scholars believe him to be. I doubt if he can be far removed from Daṇḍin. He might have been his contemporary or lived shortly before him. The *Kāvyādarśa* itself would lead us to such an inference for, while enunciating the *doshas* in a composition, it mentions only ten out of the eleven named by Bhāmaha¹ and does not consider the eleventh to be a *dosha* necessarily, remarking² that it is difficult to see if it is a blemish at all. There can be no doubt that Daṇḍin is criticising Bhāmaha unless, of course, both of these rhetoricians took the two verses *apārtham* etc., from some older work. Both the works, namely, the *Kāvyālankāra* and the *Kāvyādarśa*, are inter-connected and must have been composed probably about the same time or in the 6th if not the 7th century A.D.

Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī has endeavoured to carry the Trivandrum plays to about the 4th century B.C. on the supposition that one of them, namely, the *Pratijñāyangandharāyana*, has been quoted by Chānakya in his now well-known work, the *Arthaśāstra*. The stanza *navaṁ śarāvam*, like the other one, i.e., *yān yajñā-saṅghais-tapasā* etc., has apparently, a proverbial or sententious tenor, and must be regarded as a *subhāshita*. Chānakya quoted it along with a *Vedic* sentence showing thereby that he regarded it as equally authoritative. There is nothing to show that it is not a quotation in the Trivandrum play even³ if it is taken to be Bhāsa's. Let us suppose for the sake of argument that all these sayings were composed by Bhāsa himself. Can their occurrence in these works prove that they were written by Bhāsa? I doubt if it can. Take the case of a work whose author is known to us without any doubt. I mean the farce called *Mattavilāsaprahasana*. This contains the verse⁴ (with a slight change)—

पेया सुरा प्रियतमासुखमोक्षणीयं
आह्वाः खभावलितो विकटश्च वेषः ।
यनेदमीदृशमद्यथत मोक्षवत्मं
दीर्घायुरस्तु भगवान्स पिनाकपाणिः ॥

which, on the authority of Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka*,⁵ was composed by Bhasa. Will this fact ascribe the authorship of the farce to Bhāsa? Fortunately, we know its author! Let us take another instance. The *sūtras* of Chānakya⁶ contain two aphorisms—

न समाधिः स्वोषु लोकज्ञता च । and
दारिद्र्यं खलु पुरुषस्य जीवितं मरणम् ।

¹ IV, 1-2.

² III, 125-127.

³ Here it will be interesting to make mention of the important pronouncement made by Mr. Fāmakriṣṇa Kavi in the third session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Madras, 1924 (see *Summary of papers*, page ii), that this verse has been identified as a quotation from the *Manūnīti*.

⁴ P. 7, V. 7.

⁵ P. Peterson's 2nd report, p. 46, referred to in the introduction of the *Subhāshitāvali* of Vallabhadeva Bombay, E. S. P., p. 82.

⁶ R. Shāma Śāstrī's revised (1919) edition of the *Kauṭilyam Arthaśāstram*, p. 433, nos. 361 and 257.

One of these is found in the *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra and the other in the *Chārudatta* of the Trivandrum series. Possibly they may be quotations from the *Arthaśāstra* and analogy would lead us to surmise that the stanza *navaṁ śarāvam*, etc., was similarly quoted from the same work. Slight discrepancies in these quotations when compared with the published texts are immaterial¹ for, as a rule, such proverbial sayings are usually quoted from memory.²

The question of similarity in structure may further be examined here to see how far the identity of expressions or words can be relied upon in settling the authorship of a work. First, I shall compare the *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi* with some of the Trivandrum plays. How it resembles the latter so far as its prelude is concerned I have shown above.

Ādhishhekhanātaka.

Pages 20-21.

नेपथ्ये,

जयतु देवः । जयतु लङ्घेश्वरः । जयतु स्वामी
जयतु महाराजः । दशनाडिकाः पूर्णाः । अति-
क्रामति स्नानवेला । इत इतो महाराजः ।

निष्क्रान्तः सपरिवारः

(Page 20)

रावणः—ननु देवि । ह ह ह, अहो पति-
व्रतायास्तेजः ।

(Page 15)

ततः प्रविशति हनूमान् अङ्गुलीयकहस्तः

हनू०—अहो रावणभवनस्य विन्यासः ।

(Page 18)

Rāvaṇa while thinking of Sītā talks of the moon in both the plays.
(Page 22)

Sītā feels abashed (*vrīditā*) as she does in the *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi*.
(Page 23)

सोता—भद्र कहं तुम्हेहि अय्यउत्तस्य सङ्गमा
जादो ।

हनू०—भवति श्रूयतां

सोता—अहो अग्ररुणा क्व इस्तरा etc.

Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi.

Act V under identical circumstances has—

नेपथ्ये,

जयतु स्वामो, जयतु लङ्घेश्वरः, जयतु भद्रसुखः,
जयतु, दशनाडिकाः पूर्णाः । अतिक्रामति
स्नानवेला—इत इतो महाराजः ।
निष्क्रान्तो रावणस्परिवारः ।

Act V.

रावणः—ननु देवि ।

चारित्रं तव किमिदं पतित्रतायाः ।

Act VI.

ततः प्रविशति हनूमान् अङ्गुलीयकहस्तः

हनू०—अहो रावणनगरस्य परा लक्ष्मोः ।

सोता—कदम्बे उपायेण अय्यउत्तेण संसगो
जादो ।

हनू०—शृणोतु स्वामिनो ।

सोता—अहो अग्ररुणा क्व इस्तरा etc.

¹ The *sūtra* न समाधिः etc., as published by Mr. Shāma Śāstri, has लोकज्ञता च but Śaktibhadra gives लोकज्ञः. The other sentence in the published text reads दारिद्र्यं खलु पुरुषस्य जीवितं मरणं but in the *Chārudatta* it stands as दारिद्र्यं खलु नाम सनसिनः पुरुषस्य सोच्छासनं सरणम्।

² In this connection it will not be out of place to say that the stanza प्रारभ्यते विन्नभयात्र नौचैः etc., is to be found in the *Mudrārākshasa*, but in the *Daśarūpāvalobha* it has been ascribed to Bhartṛihari. Could we, then, ascribe the *Mudrārākshasa* to Bhartṛihari?

(Page 24)

सीता—... अव्यउत्तो जह सोअपरवसो ण
होई, तह मे उत्तनं भणेहि ।

Act VI.

सीता—अव्यउत्तो जह सोअपरवसो ण
होई, तद मे पवुत्तं तह भणेहि ।

(Page 54)

सीता—... सब्दा इस्सरा सन्ति करन्तु ।

Act V.

सीता—सब्दा इस्सरा सन्ति करन्तु ।

(Page 69)

रामः—हत्वा रावणमाहवे etc.

रामः—हत्वा वालिनमाहवे etc.

(Page 70)

लक्ष्मणः—आश्चर्यभाष्यैम् ।

लक्ष्मणः—आश्चर्यैमाष्यैम् ।

रामः—लक्ष्मण ! अस्याः पतिव्रतायाष्कृद-
मनुतिष्ठ ।

रामः—लक्ष्मण ! अस्याः पतिव्रतायाष्कृद-
मनुतिष्ठ ।

लक्ष्मणः—यदाज्ञापयत्यार्थः ।

लक्ष्मणः—यदाज्ञापयत्यार्थः ।

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नेपथ्ये दिव्यगम्भर्वा गायन्ति

नेपथ्ये दिव्यगम्भर्वा गायन्ति ।

The *gāna* is identical in ideas in both.

(Page 72)

बाढ़ं प्रथमः कल्पः and अहो तु खलु are very common words.

रामः—जानतापि च वैदेह्याः etc., etc.

रामः—The verse—

शङ्कितार्सि मया देवि ! धर्मशीलापि जानको ।
विश्वस्यन्ते कथं श्रेष्ठा योषितः प्रोषितः प्रियैः ॥
is not dissimilar in idea.

(Page 75)

अग्निः—भद्रमुख । किं ते भूयः प्रियमुपहरामि ।

नारदः—भद्रमुख । किं ते भूयः प्रियमुप-
हरामि ।

रामः—किमतः परमहमिच्छामि—
भरतवाक्यम्

रामः—किमतः परमहमिच्छामि—
भरतवाक्यम्

Pratijñāyaugandharāyana and *Āścharyachūḍāmanī*

Pratijñā.

Āścharya°.

Act II.

(Page 18)

प्रतीहारी—घत्तिसं

सीता—घत्तिसं

(M. M. Ganapati Sāstrī renders it¹ by अहोष्यामि and the meaning fits in the speech
of Sītā as well.)

(Page 62)

भर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युधेत्

अहो बलवान् भर्तृपिण्डः

Act III.

¹ The root seems to be the same which we find in the Western Panjābi as in the verse *eh jādūde ghanta ke karām kamali paī gird mere ghatte pherāni nī* of the *Hīr* of Wārēshāh, p. 213 (Lahore ed.).

Act VII

(Pages 63, 65)

उभौ—उस्सरह उस्सरह अथा ! उस्सरह

उस्सरह उस्सरह अथा उस्सरह ।

Closing sentences भद्रमुख etc., are similar in both.

*Avimāraka**Āścharyachūḍāmanī*

(Page 13)

जयतु स्वामो, जयतु महाराजः । दश(ना)किकाः जयतु स्वामी, जयतु लङ्घेश्वरः दश-
पूर्णाः । ... अतिक्रामति स्वानवेला । नाडिकाः पूर्णाः । अतिक्रामति स्वानवेला ।*Pratimānāṭaka* and *Āścharyachūḍāmanī*

(Page 85)

सीता—अथउत्त परित्ताआहि परित्ताआहि । सोता—अथउत्त परित्ताआहि परित्ताआहि

(Page 86)

सोता—सत्तोसि

सोता—सत्तोसि

(Page 87)

Compare the description of Jatāyu's beak in both and तिष्ठेदानीम्

(Page 86)

रावणः—हहह । अहो पतिव्रतायास्तेजः । रावणः—चारिचं तव किं पतिव्रतायाः etc.

(Page 99)

Defence of Kaikeyī is similar in both—(Act I in the *Āścharyachūḍāmanī*)The Trivandrum *Svapnavāsavadattā* and the *Āścharyachūḍāmanī*i. The speech of the *sūtradhāra* in both is rather identical.ii. The use of the word कम्ब in the first stanza of the Trivandrum play and not far from about the commencement of the *Āścharyachūḍāmanī*.iii. The *Svapnavāsavadattā* (pp. 1-2) and the *Āścharyachūḍāmanī* (Act VII) give उस्सरह उस्सरह अथा उस्सरह ।

iv. On page 10 of the former and in Act III of the latter we have—

ब्रह्मचारी—अथ कस्मिन् प्रदेशे विश्वमयिष्ये । अभितस्त्वपोवनेन भवितव्यं तथाहि ।

and कृषिकुमारः—क तु खलु तीर्थयात्राश्चमं विगमयामि—अत्रासन्नेन आश्चमेण
भवितव्यं तथाहि ।

respectively.

v. Similarly, वासवदत्ता—अहो अकरुणा खु इस्सरा in the one (pp. 27 and 62) and सीता—अहो अकरुणा खु इस्सरा etc. (Act IV) in the other.

vi. वाढम्। प्रथमः कल्पः is very common.

These are a few instances which I have picked up from the play of Śaktibhadra and some Trivandrum *nāṭakas*. I am sure more will be found out. Arguing like Mr. Ganapati Sāstri, can we not ascribe the Trivandrum plays to Śaktibhadra, ignoring for argument's sake the mention of his name in the prologue ? The argument based on the merits or the intensity of *rasa* and the exquisite flow of language in these plays cannot prove the authorship of Bhāsa, though it can show that their writer was a dramatist of a high order. At the same time one has to remember that the question of

the merit of a work is sometimes a matter of opinion as is so very nicely shown in the case of Milton, who preferred his *Paradise Regained* to the *Paradise Lost*, although the latter is usually considered to be far superior to the former. Had it not been so, could the immortal *Sākuntala* or the *Uttararāmacharita* be considered inferior to these plays ? The merits for which the Trivandrum dramas are considered as older than Kālidāsa have not been pointed out to us. What is stated on the other hand is that the author of the Trivandrum dramas has drawn his material directly from the epics and there are expressions in those plays which are found in the works of Kālidāsa, who must have taken them from those plays. It appears that while bringing in such an argument the supporters of the Bhāsa theory are to a large extent influenced by the supposition that these works are Bhāsa's and that an ancient work must be of great merit. Comparatively modern writers have also drawn their material directly from the epics. Indian writers who select mythical or say divine subjects have to draw the material from these sources, and for the matter of that we cannot say that Kālidāsa did not do so. Writers like Kshemendra did the same thing. The author of the *Āścharyachūḍāmani*, alluded to above, must have done so. Why to talk of these old writers ? If I write a piece now and get my material from the Vedas, my composition cannot be relegated to the hoary past on that account. This sort of reasoning does not carry conviction home. Similarity of ideas or expressions does not necessarily indicate indebtedness of one author to another. There is no reason why a person cannot argue as does another quite independently. Similar ideas and expressions are no doubt found in the works of Kālidāsa and these plays, still, it does not stand to reason to say that Kālidāsa derived them from these works or any other author either out of respect or otherwise. It is said that Kālidāsa has himself praised Bhāsa and might have used his works as a grateful tribute to his genius. I doubt if it can be considered to be a tribute at all, when we remember how Indian poets compare "borrowing" to eating *vāñlam*. To mention the name of a predecessor in respectful terms does not necessarily imply borrowing. An original writer will shun such a course and a poet of the type of Kālidāsa whether he hailed from India, Europe or elsewhere could not have had recourse to such a practice. We should not forget at the same time that the priority of the Trivandrum pieces to Kālidāsa is yet to be established, and one can very well argue in the opposite way, viz., that the author of these works was indebted to Kālidāsa. For my own part I will not attach any great weight to the similarity of this kind in such cases. Identical expressions or similar ideas are to be met with in the Vedas and the Bible leaving aside the Rāmāyaṇa and the Iliad, but I doubt if we could go so far as to consider the latter to be indebted to the former or *vice versa* in any way. While human heart remains unaltered it is the brain that develops. This is, I think, the reason why a poet who writes from the core of his heart remains ever fresh and up-to-date, whatever be his age. The outpourings of a true heart will not much differ whoever the writer may be. Accordingly, we have to consider the question of the age of a work irrespective of such resemblances.

Much capital has been made out of the so-called archaisms or solecisms (*ārsha-prayogas*), noticed in the Trivandrum *nāṭakas*. It is said that many archaic forms, which are found in these plays and are mostly tabulated in the form of an appendix attached to the *Pratimānāṭaka*, violate the rules of Pāṇini, and, therefore, these

nāṭakas must have come into existence before the great grammarian lived. Likewise, it is affirmed that the Prākrit of these plays is archaic and, consequently, they must have been composed during a very remote antiquity. Some of the defenders of the Bhāsa theory place these works before, while others after Aśvaghosha. Let us now examine how far this argument holds good. The occurrence of irregular or *apāṇinīya* forms can afford no proof of the age of a work. Students of Indian epigraphy are aware of numerous documents which contain such forms but undoubtedly belong to a very late period. *Ārsha* forms are found not only in the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata*, but in the epics which are certainly not so old; nay, we find them in the works¹ of Kālidāsa as well as other Sanskrit writers. Such forms, we know, have mostly been explained by Sarāṇadeva in his very learned work entitled *Durghaṭavritti*.² Mallinātha has also endeavoured to justify such formations by bringing them under Pāṇini's rules. Even Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī himself has done so at least in one instance, I mean in the use of *lyap* in *grihya chāpam kareṇa*.³ We know of cases where writers have deliberately flouted Pāṇini. For instance, the locative plural of *pumān* is *pum̄su* according to Pāṇini, but Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya in his grammar named *Sārasvatam* makes it *pum̄kshu*. The same is the case with the word *viśrāma* which is not often used for *viśrama*. I need not multiply examples here, when they are so well collected in the *Durghaṭavritti*. Some of the manuscripts are less scrupulously preserved than others and we are not in possession of the original manuscripts of the plays. At times wrong forms are used by ignorant copyists and sometimes more familiar forms are substituted in place of old and unfamiliar ones. We have also to remember that the extant books on Prākrit grammar are comparatively late works, and the rules laid down in them can only be used with the utmost caution for determining the age of any work with their aid. Grammar can very well be considered to be a good criterion for judging the age of a composition, but wrong or ungrammatical formations cannot. Poetic license is no criterion of age. Nor does it reflect well on the writer. Unless these archaic formations noticed in the Trivandrum plays are proved to be in agreement with the rules of grammar written before Pāṇini, their occurrence will form no ground for testifying to their antiquity, nor will they suffice to prove the authorship of Bhāsa. This is how the first part of the argument stands.

Now let us examine the second on the use of old Prākrit forms. I agree with Dr. Barnett in thinking that the Southern tradition presents *nāṭakas* in a condition showing Prākrit forms which are more archaic than those found in the Northern tradition. Let us work out this assertion in detail here.

Scholars like Printz,⁴ V. Lesny,⁵ V. S. Sukthankar⁶ and others opine that the Prākrit used in these plays exhibits old forms which are met with in ancient works both inscriptional and literary; but not in comparatively late compositions like the works

¹ For example, in *Raghuvamśā*, XIX. 23, and *Kumārasambhava*, 1. 35.

² T. S. S. No. VI.

³ *Dūtaghaṭotkacha*, T. S. S. No. XXII, p. 59.

⁴ W. Printz: *Bhāsa's Prākrit* (Frankfurt A. M., 1921).

⁵ Die Entwicklungsstufe des Prākrits in Bhāsa's Dramen und das Zeitalter Bhāsa's in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 72 Band, Leipzig, 1918, pp. 203 ff.

⁶ American Or. Jour., 40, 1920, pp. 248 ff.

of Kālidāsa and others. Therefore, it must be older and, consequently, these plays which are partly couched in it must be assigned to a great age, at any rate to the early centuries of the Christian era, if not to a still earlier epoch. These are some of the archaisms in the Prākṛit of these plays as noticed by them.

i. *Amhāam* (*asmākam*) ; ii. *dissa* (*drīṣya*) ; iii. *vaam(vayam)* ; iv. use of the root *arh* without the *svarabhakti* or epenthetic vowel ; v. *ahaka* (*aham*, later *hake*, *hage* and *aham*) ; vi. *āma* as affirmative particle ; vii. *karia* (*krītvā*, later *kadūa*) ; viii. *kissa*, *kiśśa* (*kasya* but used in ablative sense for *kasmāt*) ; ix. *khu* (*khala*) ; x. *tara* (*tava*, later *tuha*, etc.) ; xi. *tuvam* (*tram*, later *turam*).

It will look rather strange in the eyes of those scholars if I said that almost all these old forms are to be seen in the *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra. I am sorry the book has not yet been fully published.¹ I can, therefore, only refer to the pages of the copy which I had an occasion to examine. But that will hardly be more useful than my assertion that these forms are to be seen in this play as well.² Should we, then, on the strength of this fact, assign the play to the same period to which the Trivandrum *nāṭakas* have been ascribed ? Though the date of Śaktibhadra is not definitely known, still I doubt if any scholar would think of placing him in that period or some centuries before the Christian era ! Let us leave him alone for the present till his date is determined and see the Prākṛit in the works whose authorship and time are known without any doubt. I take up the plays which have been published in the very Trivandrum series and under the editorship of Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī himself. In addition to those I have just now noted, the chief peculiarities of the Trivandrum plays as far as their Prākṛit is concerned are³ perhaps these : (1) usual dropping of *k*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *v*, and *y* between vowels and occasional retention ; (2) occasional change of *y* into *j* but usual retention of it ; (3) shortening of the vowel and doubling of the consonant in *evam*, etc. ; (4) change of *ry* into *yy* in contrast with Kālidāsa's changing it into *jj*, and so on. If we examine the Prākṛit of these plays with that of the *Pradyumna-bhyudaya*,⁴ the *Subhadrādhanañjaya*,⁵ the *Tapatīsamvarana*,⁶ the *Nāgānanda*⁷ or the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* as published in the south we shall find Prākṛit forms in them which display the same features. The *Pradyumna-bhyudaya* supplies several instances of (1), as do the other plays which I have just named, and I need not refer to them. For (2), see *Pradyumna-bhyudaya*, p. 2, *Subhadrādhanañjaya*, pp. 60, 70, *Tapatīsamvarana*, pp. 36, 14, 33, 67, *Nāgānanda*, p. 13, *Mattavilāsa*⁸, pp. 1, 3, etc. For (3) com-

¹ For manuscripts of this play see the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, pp. 8380-82. It is particularly noteworthy that the manuscripts of this play are found along with some of those of the 13 Trivandrum plays as has been noted above.

² Archaic forms are used especially in the speech of Śūrpaṇakhā and also Sītā. In addition to *amkīam* we have *tumhānam* and *tumhehi*. The play gives *arhadi* and uses *aham* itself several times in the speech of Śūrpaṇakhā and Sītā. One of the supporters of the Bhāsa theory, namely, M. M. Haraprasād Shāstrī (see Introduction to the *Pratimānāṭaka*), says that this word *āma* is never used by later poets but is found only in old Pāli. This affirmative particle not only occurs in the *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi*, but other plays as well, as I have shown below. Besides, is it not the very particle which we hear in Tamil every day ? The play gives *turam* and also *tumam*. The two forms *vaam* and *karia* I have not seen in the *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi*, but similar forms occur in the *Subhadrādhanañjaya* and the *Tapatīsamvarana* etc. as shown in the sequel.

³ A. Banerji Śāstrī, *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, p. 372.

⁴ T. S. S. No. VIII.

⁵ T. S. S. No. XI.

⁶ T. S. S. No. XII.

⁷ T. S. S. No. LIX

pare *Pradyumna*^o, pp. 10 and 33, *Subhadra*^o, pp. 15, 145, *Tapati*^o, pp. 14, 61, *Nāgā*^o, pp. 24, 24, 28, 71, etc., and *Mattavi*^o, p. 2. For (4) see *Pradyumna*^o, p. 13, *Subhadra*^o, p. 70, *Tapati*^o, p. 3, *Nāgā*^o, p. 13, and *Matta*^o, pp. 1, 3.

Some other old forms in these plays may also be mentioned here. For *khu* see *Pradyumna*^o, pp. 10, 11, 24, *Subhadra*^o, pp. 63, 170, etc., *Tapati*^o, pp. 8, 33, 39, etc., *Nāgā*^o, pp. 24, 34, etc., and *Matta*^o, pp. 2, 6, 9, etc. For forms like *kissa* see *Subhadra*^o, pp. 17, 63, 83, 97, 131, 135, *Tapati*^o, pp. 9, 47, 74, etc., *Nāgā*^o, pp. 66, 71, 88, and *Matta*^o, p. 27. For *āma* see *Pradyumna*^o, p. 33, *Subhadra*^o, p. 57, *Tapati*^o, p. 104, etc. For *amhāam* see *Subhadra*^o, pp. 33, 34, *Matta*^o, pp. 9, 19, 24. For forms like *karia* see *Tapati*^o, pp. 42, 8, 103, *Subhadra*^o, p. 168, *Nāgā*^o, pp. 88, 124. For *mhi* see *Subhadra*^o, p. 34; *Nāgā*^o, p. 80, *Matta*^o, p. 28. For *aham* and *ahake* see *Pradyumna*^o, p. 3, *Tapati*^o, pp. 8, 55, 143, *Nāgā*^o, p. 71.

I may go on multiplying instances, but the result will be the same. The occurrence of these forms will not prove that these works, too, should be relegated to such a high antiquity¹. They were all written after Kālidāsa, whatever be their exact date.

Yet another work may be put up to show the hollowness of this argument. It is the *Bhagavadajjuka* which has been referred to above. Here, too, we observe similar old Prākrit forms. To mention a few of the typical ones as selected by some of the supporters of the Bhāsa theory. This piece uses both *amhāam* and *amhānam*. The former form occurs in the speech of the Vaidya who went to treat the courtesan (page xxii) and the latter in that of Śāṇḍilya (p. iii). So also *tuvam* (p. viii) and *tumam* (p. xvi) and *kissa* used in the sense of *kasmāt* (p. iv). *Khu* is usually put for *khalu* without reduplication. The play gives *tava* and *tuvam* for the later forms *tujjha* or *tumha* and *tuman* as at pages v, and viii, and employs both *evam* (p. v) and *evvam* (p. viii). Likewise we have *aham* for *ahakam* and *ahake*, and so on. Both old and later forms are used in this work, still it cannot be relegated to the epoch to which the Trivandrum plays are ascribed by most of the adherents of the Bhāsa theory.

A special notice appears to be called for regarding the use of some accusative plurals in *āni* belonging to *a*-stems on which Dr. Thomas² has laid so much stress. I need only refer to the note of Dr. L. D. Barnett in the October (1924) issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*³ without recapitulating what he has stated there. Forms like *kusumāni* or *devāni* occurring in certain compositions cannot prove that the latter were written before or about the time of Aśoka, for they are to be met with in the works which were decidedly written later. I have already shown in connection with the use of other forms how unsafe it is to adduce them as evidences of great age. All these *nāṭakas*, leaving aside, for the present, the *Bhagavadajjuka*, were written after Kālidāsa, whatever their exact date may be. Their Prākrit also contains earlier or archaic forms but they are comparatively late compositions. Therefore, to assign the Trivandrum *nāṭakas* to such a high antiquity as the 3rd or 4th century B.C. to 3rd or 4th century A. D. on the evidence of some old Prākrit⁴ formations would be unreason-

¹ Cf. Barnett, *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, pp. 587-9.

² *Ibid.* 1924, p. 449 f.

³ p. 655.

⁴ Dr. Sukthankar, in his very informing notes which he has recently contributed to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1925, April issue), has, I now find, thoroughly examined the whole of the Prākrit question and appears to have admitted (page 132), quite in a genuine scholarly spirit, I would say, that in this respect, at least, his expectations have not been realized.

able. Thus, the argument based on the archaic forms of Sanskrit as well as Prākrit also falls to the ground.

After examining these main points so often adduced in favour of the Bhāsa theory, let us now consider another important assertion in this connection. The defenders of this theory hold that the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* depends on the Trivandrum play named *Chārudatta* and is only an amplification of it. They seem to have taken it for granted that it is so. One would wonder if they are led to this belief by the consideration of the small size of the *Chārudatta* as compared with that of the *Mṛīchchhakatikā*. That both these plays are connected with each other cannot be denied. The four acts of which the Trivandrum play consists are practically identical with the first few acts of the *Mṛīchchhakatikā*. There can be no doubt that the author of the one has copied or taken them from the other. The *Chārudatta* is believed to be the source, and to make the author of the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* the borrower, it is affirmed that the Trivandrum edition of the *Chārudatta* presents only an incomplete text of the play, the continuation¹ of which still lies hidden somewhere, possibly in the south. It is further declared that some of the incidents mentioned in the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* are not connected with the real plot and are to be treated as mere cumbersome narratives. This practically means that the author of the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* quietly incorporated the whole of the play or the four acts of it ascribing the same to himself. The first question which a curious mind would ask in such a case would be how is it that a poet who was capable of composing six more acts failed to re-write in his own words the first four acts of the play. One would further ask if there is a parallel case in the world showing a plagiarism of this sort.² We know of sayings like *Kavir-vāntam samaśnute*, but cannot forget what Bhāmaha has said³—

सुख्यस्तावदयं न्यायो यत्स्वशक्तया प्रवत्तते ।

अन्ये सारस्ता नाम सन्त्यन्योक्तानुवादिनः ॥

Poets or poetasters may borrow consciously or unconsciously from other writers, but they would hesitate to insert bodily the work of another in their own compositions, if they are worth the name, for they can express the story or the ideas in their own words as far as possible. In the *Mṛīchchhakatikā*, however, there is no *anyoktānuvāda* or translation, but wholesale incorporation. The prologue of this play speaks of the author in terms of high praise for, it says that he was the foremost of Vedic scholars and a pious man. Could *tapas* allow of such acts? Well, it may be said that he did not plagiarise, but, as Dr. Charpentier has stated in his note on the Hindu drama,⁴ only added the last five *āṅkas*, or at least the greater part of them “exhibiting the efficacy of righteous conduct, villainy of law, the temperament of the wicked and the inevitable-

¹ Dr. Sukthankar in his article in the *Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore*, Vol. IX, 1919, pp. 188 ff., has worked out this point at some length and tried to show that the *Chārudatta* is an incomplete play, and so it is!

² Here I am reminded of Washington Irving's reverie given in his *Sketch Book* regarding the art of book-making. Are we to think that, as Bhāsa's works were unknown at the time, the writer of the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* appropriated his work to himself with no fear of detection?

³ See Introduction to *Pratimānātaka*. p. xvi.

⁴ J. R. A. S. 1923, 99, 602, 6.

ness of fate." In support of guesses like these it is added that a courteous poet, who would not accuse king Śūdraka of plagiarism—a thing scarcely consistent with the high praise bestowed upon him—could, perhaps, not tell us in a clearer way what did, in reality, belong to him and what did not. If it were a fact, the case would be an unique one! Authors, as far as I am aware, have continued the works of other writers, but have not appropriated them to themselves. The *Kādambarī* and the *Daśakumāracharita* were in all probability continued only in the name of the original authors. That the *Chārudatta* is only a part of a "fuller" work from which it has been culled out will become clear if we examine it closely and compare it with the *Mṛīchchhakatikā*. It has no *nāndī* nor a *Bharatavākyam*. Besides, we do not find in it the words like *ayi kinnu khalu*, etc., which form the chief characteristics of the Trivandrum plays. In construction it does not seem to be identical with the rest. On what grounds then has it been ascribed to Bhāsa? The circumstance that a manuscript of the piece was found along with the other plays cannot prove it, though, apparently, it has gone a long way to influence the view. In my opinion the *Chārudatta* and the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* are not different works, and the former is only a part of the latter just as the *Mantrānka-nāṭaka*¹ is a part of the *Pratiñāyaugandharāyana* of this very series although the Chākyars consider it to be a distinct drama. Differences to be noticed in it are rather immaterial, and are attributable to local causes. I would call the *Chārudatta* a different recension of the first few acts of the *Mṛīchchhakatikā*. To write down the name of the hero and the heroine or call them *nāyaka* and *gāṇikā* matters little, as far as the actual representation on the stage is concerned. Sometimes, as in the case of *Jīmūtavāhana* in the *Nāgānanda*, only *Nāyaka* is put down in place of the name of the hero. The difference in the names of Śarvilaka and Sajjalaka does not count for much. It is not impossible that the change is due to an error on the part of some copyist. The omission of the servants' names (*Karnapūraka* and *Radanikā*) makes no difference at all. Śūdraka as a playwright or rather *kavi* must have been very popular in the south. In the *sthāpanā* of the *Tapatīsamvaranya* of Kulaśekharavarman he is named first of all the *mahākavīs* as *ayyaSuddaa-Kālidāsa-Harisa-Dāṇḍi-ppamuhānam mahākāṇḍam annadamsaya*, etc. The *Mṛīchchhakatikā* is undoubtedly one of the best *nāṭakas* we know of. Naturally it must have been selected for the stage. The whole being a long piece, only a part of it was selected for occasional performances. That the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* was tampered with we are quite certain. On the authority of an ancient commentary, Wilson pointed out long ago that from the words *esā ajja Chāludattassa* to the remark *dishṭyā jīvita-suhrividvarga āryak* of Śarvilaka in the last act of this drama the whole text was incorporated by Nilakantha.² That this is so is borne out by the verse—

यस्यौर्द्यभयतः कविनोचितपाचमेलनं न कातम् ।
सुन्दरसुक्तिभिरचयदाचन्दनोक्ति नोलकण्ठस्य तत् ॥

which, as interpreted by Professor Sylvain Lévi, would account for the interpolation also. The original author was anxious to see his drama staged fully before the sun had risen,

¹ Cf. M. M. Ganapati Śāstri. *Pratiñāyaugandharāyana*. Introduction, p. XI.

² This was noted by me long ago in my notes on the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1902, pages 119-120). Dr. Morgenstierne has also noticed it recently in his work referred to above.

but Nilakantha was anxious to bring about a happy union of all the *dramatis personæ*. Likewise, the person who culled the *Chārudatta* from the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā* had to see that it would be acted at such and such time and during such an interval. Therefore, he selected that part alone which to all purposes was complete in itself. The heroine starts to meet her lover and with this act the first part of the story would terminate. Both the lovers felt diffident, one because of his poverty and the other on account of her low status. Despite all this, their desire is accomplished ; one goes to meet the other who has got the news and is ready to receive her. Even in the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā* what follows Vasantasenā's starting is the tediously interrupting conversation she had with the *vīṭa* and an ordinary exchange of a few sentences after which the lovers retired. That the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā* has undergone a change we have just now seen. The probability, then, would be that it has got scenes which were added afterwards "to secure¹ to the play a greater popularity with the public." Perhaps, the whole of the gamblers' scene in the second act and certainly the scene showing Dhūtā insisting on self-immolation in the tenth act are instances of such interpolations. The *Chārudatta* was in all probability taken out when the play was perhaps free from such interpolations. This is, possibly, the reason why we notice some difference in the quotations by Vāmana in the *Kāvyālankārasūtravritti*. One of these quotations is found in both the *Chārudatta* and the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā*, though it agrees rather with the version of the former. The other quotation is found in the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā* only, for the *Chārudatta* does not contain the gamblers' scene at all. In the same way if a quotation is taken from the episode of Dhūtā in the last act of the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā*, we will not find it in any of the copies of the drama written before Nilakantha, who was responsible for the above noted interpolation. All the same the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā* will be there.

Here we should remember that Vāmana has referred to Śūdraka as the author of the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā*² and has quoted from his work. While saying—

शूद्रकादिरचितेषु प्रबन्धेष्वस्य भूयान् प्रपञ्चो दृश्यते ।

he does not refer to Bhāsa. Had a work of Bhāsa, as the *Chārudatta* is supposed to be, existed in his time, in all probability he would have referred to it in preference to that of Śūdraka, for it was original. But he has not. This fact will indicate that, at the time Vāmana lived, the writer of the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā* was regarded to be an original writer and not a plagiarist. I am not here concerned with the question of the authorship³ of this *prakarana*. What I say in this connection is that the piece called *Chārudatta* need not be the work of a writer who is different from that of the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā* on the reasons so far advanced, nor can Bhāsa be its author. That the story did not end with the fourth act of the *Chārudatta*

¹ Dr. Charpentier, *J. R. A. S.*, 1923, p. 602.

² Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmī; *Indian Antiquary* 1916, pp. 189 ff.

³ I believe in the South Indian origin of the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā* and that Śūdraka was possibly a southerner. Still, I do not think that he could be a *Rāja Komati*. The tradition connecting him with the *Komati* caste does not appear to be very trustworthy. The *Kanyakāpurāṇa* where it is recorded and which is considered to be the chief work of the *Komatis* is not an ancient work. It probably belongs to the 10th or the 11th century A.D. and the *Vishnuvardhana* connected with it was, apparently, the *Choṭa* king Rājendra, the patron of Nannayabhaṭṭa, the author of the Telugu *Bhāratam* who flourished about the 11th century A. D. In this connection see Dr. Charpentier's note "The author and date of the *Mṛīchchhakaṭikā*", in *J. R. A. S.* 1923, pp. 593 ff.

seems to be certain. It is equally so, that it continued in the *Mṛīchchhakatikā*. To think of the existence of a continuation of the *Chārudatta* in some manuscript which is lying hidden somewhere, as some of these scholars do, seems to be unnecessary and futile.

Dr. Keith in his review of Dr. Morgenstierne's work, referred to above, seems to favour the view that the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* represents a working over of the *Chārudatta*¹ and that the *Chārudatta* is not a shortened version of it. He goes a step further and says that Bhāsa probably left his work, namely *Chārudatta*, incomplete, and some unknown author who worked it up in the form of the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* found out a device of ascribing the work to Śūdraka to secure for it a measure of attention which would not have been accorded to it, had it appeared under his true name. Does not the learned Doctor while making this conjecture "demand too much from probability"? Apparently, this speculation is based on the belief that Śūdraka as the author of the play had no historical reality. It is true that the figure of Śūdraka in Sanskrit literature has a legendary character, but does it follow that the Śūdraka of the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* must also be a mythical person? On the other hand, the way in which he is described would show that he must have been an historical character of flesh and bones, "who suffered from diseases like catarrh and was cured by the mercy of Śiva." His identity, however, has not yet been established.

To think of some unknown writer who "worked up" the *Chārudatta* and ascribed the whole piece to a mythical ruler is to demand too much from imagination. It does not carry conviction home. There is hardly any necessity of creating further myths to show the high standard of self-abnegation. That the author of the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* was a writer of a very high order is proved by the play itself. In fact, it is the latter portion where the author is found in his full vigour and which makes him a dramatist of an uncommon genius. It is there that the master-piece of the play, namely, Samsṭhanaka is fully delineated and the action fully developed. If comparison is to be drawn, this portion, it seems to me, is far superior to the first four acts which make up the *Chārudatta*, even if we take it for granted that they were composed by the ancient Bhāsa himself. Why would such a writer think of merging his personality into that of a fabulous or semi-mythical individual as Śūdraka? Why did he not, if he was a selfless writer, ascribe the work to Bhāsa himself? The name of Bhāsa would have secured greater fame and more attention than that of Śūdraka if that alone was the object. There is no reason why we should disbelieve the statement made in the prologue as to its authorship. While putting forth such assumptions, we take it for granted that the *Chārudatta* was written by the ancient Bhāsa and that as the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* came afterwards, it must have been based on it. We are influenced, I am afraid, by this supposition. If we consider the Trivandrum plays irrespective of the Bhāsa theory, it will, I make bold to say, at once appear to be a part of the fuller play, i.e., the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* and neither a shortened version nor a basis of it. This view will obviate the vain hope expressed by some of the supporters of the Bhāsa theory, that the continuation of the Trivandrum play will² come out some day and support their hypothesis.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, pp. 59-60.

² There is no need of testing the points brought forward to show that the *Chārudatta* is an incomplete play for I admit that it is so as compared with the *Mṛīchchhakatikā* of which it is only a part.

As to the question who patronised the author of the Trivandrum plays. I doubt if it can be finally solved under the existing circumstances. That there was some royal patron of the poet cannot be denied. Had there been none the use of the word *Rājasimha* in the concluding stanza would become useless. *Rājasimha* seems to be the surname or an epithet of the king who patronised the author. The term is¹ such as can be very appropriately used for any ruler. The same is the case with the word *Rājā* of the *Dhūrtavītasamvāda* of *Íśvaradatta* and *Narendra* of the *Ubhayābbhisārikā* of Vararuchi, alluded to above. Scholars differ as to the identity of the *Rājasimha* whom the author of the plays had in mind. Dr. Barnett finds the Pāṇḍya Tēṣ-māṇ Rājasimha I, while Dr. Sten Konow recognises the Western Kshatrapa named Rudrasimha (*Cir. 181-196 A.D.*) in him. Possibly, there were two patrons. One was called Rājasimha and the other Upendra, for both these terms occur in the concluding verses. It is not impossible that these epithets are meant for the two Pallava chiefs, namely, Simhavishnu (*Cir. 590 A. D.*) and Narasimhavarman Rājasimha I (*Cir. 646 A. D.*). The *Mattavilāsaprahasana* was composed by a Pallava king and closely resembles these plays. It does not appear to be unreasonable to assume that these plays, too, were written under similar conditions. The stanza—

इमामुदीर्णार्णवनोलवस्त्रां
नरेश्वरो नः पृथिवीं प्रशास्तु ।²

would rather countenance such a hypothesis. But, as Dr. Keith has already remarked, such identifications ought to be treated as mere guesses, and nothing more. The identity will remain obscure, for the author himself wanted to keep it so, otherwise he would have given us the proper name of the patron. Here, I think, it will not be out of place to consider what Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has thought of this patron and the age of the plays. His opinion is based on the idea of “one umbrella empire extending from the Himālayas to the Vindhya and up to the ocean” found in these plays in verses like *imām sāgara-paryantām*,³ etc. He thinks that such ideas cannot go back further than the days of Chandragupta Maurya and could not be remembered later than the rise of the Āndhrabhrityas or the Kushānas. Such a conception, he opines, must refer to a period somewhere between 325 B. C. and the end of the 1st century B. C. In support of this opinion, he adduces the words “our sovereign”, “sovereign lion” and the terms Upendra and Nārāyaṇa used in these plays. In the latter name he recognises the Kāñva-Nārāyaṇa.⁴ A glance at the passage in the *Dūtavākyam*, on which so much reliance is placed, will show that there is no mention of the “*Bārhadrathas*” at all, the person intended being Jarāsandha, the son of Brihadratha. If Nārāyaṇa or Upendra were the patron, the vilification by Duryodhana will be out of place, for no patron will tolerate his being rebuked in any garb. The words Upendra and Nārāyaṇa do

¹ A somewhat similar case is represented by the *Dhūrtavītasamvāda* of *Íśvaradatta*, which has already been published. In the concluding stanza of this *Bhāṇa*, which is likewise not a *Bharatavākyam*, we find इसामपि महीं पातु राजा सागरमेखलाम्. Curiously enough like the Trivandrum *Svapna-vāsavadattā* this piece also, as has been stated by the editors Messrs. Rāmakrishna and Rāmanāth, in the introduction to the *Chaturbhāṇi*, is mentioned by Bhojadeva in his *Śringāraprakāśa*.

² *Avimāraka*.

³ See footnote above where we have *Sāgaramekhalām* instead.

⁴ T. S. S. No. XXII, p. 30.

Let refer to any mortal, but the chief god of the Hindu triad, as the benedictory stanzas in some of these plays, e.g., the *Urubhaṅga* or the *Madhyamavyāyoga* will clearly show. No reliance can be placed on ideas like "one umbrella rule", for they are little less than poetic embellishments. Students of Indian epigraphy and numismatics know that even ordinary petty chieftains are very often described as overlords and emperors of the world مَنْ شَاءَ عَالَمٌ ازْ دَهْلِيَّ تَبَارِمْ in charters as well as coins. Such expressions need not be taken in a literal sense. In the same way, it seems to me, the mention, in these plays, of an empire bounded by the Himavat and the Vindhya need not necessarily show a political orientation. To reason from the known to the unknown we may take a few of the South Indian kings. Veṅkaṭa I is described as ruling over the whole earth from the Setu to the Himavat.¹ Some of the Pāṇḍya kings are² said to have engraved the pair of fish on the topmost rock of the lord of mountains or the Himālaya. Sundara-Pāṇḍya is said to have conquered Koṅkaṇa, Kośala, Maṅgadha, Kaliṅga and above all China³ also. Why multiply instances. These expressions are not to be taken very seriously. Even if we do, the case of Rājendra Chola would show that such expressions could well be applied to a southerner also, after keeping a margin for a poet's hyperboles. Besides, we have to remember that if an author from the south wants to describe an ancient event which took place in the north or has to praise his patron in the north, he will naturally keep himself within the limits of the north. A good geographer from the south, who is conversant with the past history of India, or who is well versed in the epics and other literature of the country, can very well describe events which took place long before he was born. Bearing all this in mind, I do not consider it necessary to think of any special empire of the Mauryas, the Kushāṇas, the Guptas, or others. Nor does it appear to be necessary to think of the royal statues discovered at Mathurā, while reading of the *Pratimāgrīha* or Valhalla in the *Pratimāṇataka* for, in the south itself there must have been such *gṛihas* in olden days. This may very reasonably be surmised from the portrait statues, which are still to be seen at Mahābalipuram or the Seven Pagodas. The Varāha cave there has got a seated figure of Siṁhavishṇu flanked by his queens on one side and the standing figure of his son Mahendravarman and his queens on the other. That they are the portrait figures (*pratimās*) of the Pallava kings of these names is indubitably proved by the labels so clearly written above them in the old Pallava-grantha characters which read⁴ *Śrī-Siṁhavīñnu-Pōttādhirājan* and *Śrī-Mahēndra-Pōttādhirājan*, respectively. A writer from the south, who knows of such *pratimās*, or one might say—*pratimāgrīhas*—in his own province, need not think of the portrait statues of the Kushāṇas, the Śaiśunāgas or other dynasties. Thus, we see that the argument of the *pratimāgrīhas* cannot counteract the proposition that the *Pratimāṇataka* was written in or after the sixth century of the Christian era by a South Indian writer. That he was acquainted with the Mathurā country will not make the author a *māthura* or for the matter of that, a northerner. That the *Pratimāṇataka* cannot be such an old work as the followers of the Bhāsa theory take it to be, we shall see presently.

¹ See Padmanerī or Vellaṅguḍi grants, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVI, pp. 291 ff.

² See Veṅvikudi grant of Neḍūñjadaiyan, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 391 ff.

³ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 108, No. 372.

⁴ *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras (1922-23), p. 94.

There are some other minor arguments raised in support of the Bhāsa theory which may be examined here briefly. Some scholars are of opinion that the Trivandrum plays make mention of an observatory at Ujjain, the Venuvana, the Nāgavana, the old Rājagṛīha and Pātaliputra when it was just founded and, therefore, must be very old. I doubt if any importance can be attached to such an argument. One may write a book to-day mentioning all these places in a similar manner, yet, I wonder if we will ascribe such a work to a hoary antiquity on that account. The traditional epithet of Bhāsa like *Jalana-mitte*, "friend of fire" *Bhāso hāsah* "laugh of poetry" and *purāṇa* "the ancient", cannot prove that Bhāsa was the author of the Trivandrum plays. These can be applied to other writers as well. Bhāsa alone is not the friend of fire. Śaktibhadra has introduced fire into his play. So also Śrīharsha. The tradition making Bhāsa the friend of fire is preserved in the *Prithvīrājavijaya*.² In that case Bhāsa would become the writer of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* as well as the *Vishnudharmottara*,³ in that both these works were regarded to be of exceptional merit and believed to have withstood the ordeal of fire.⁴ I have already given my view regarding the *Svapnavāsavadattā* of the Trivandrum series. It cannot be the *Svapnavāsavadattā* of Bhāsa, which is still an untraced work. As to the other book, I am inclined to identify it with the *Vishnudharmottarīya* which is so well known in Kashmir and has been published at the Veṅkateśvara Press of Bombay.⁵ As the question of its identity is not connected with the present paper there is no need of my discussing it here.

I doubt if due importance has been attached to the evidence of the anthologies against the Bhāsa theory. Some twelve stanzas are ascribed to Bhāsa in these collections, and it is very remarkable that none of these is to be found in any of the thirteen plays which have been attributed to this ancient writer. These anthologies may not always be accurate in their ascriptions, but it is not insignificant that not even one stanza out of these twelve should be found there, if they were written by Bhāsa at all. Leaving aside the anthologies, we find that even the verse *peyā surā*,⁶ etc., which Somadeva in his *Yaśastilaka* ascribes to Bhāsa, does not occur in any of these thirteen *nātakas*. On the other hand, it is found in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*, as stated above, where, apparently, it occurs as a *subhāshita*.⁷ This negative evidence, I think, also goes against the Bhāsa theory.

¹ Dr. Banerji, *J. R. A. S.* 1921, p. 379.

² *Ind. Ant.* 1913, pp. 52-53.

³ Rājaśekhara's *Sūktimuktāvalī*—

भासनाटकचक्रेष्टिकैः चिते परैचितुर्।

स्वप्नवासवदस्य दाहकोऽमूलं पावकः ॥

Prithvīrājavijaya.

भासस्य काव्यं खलु विश्वधर्माण्

सीत्यानन्नात् पारदवन्मुमीच ।

⁴ There is no necessity of believing in the transference of tradition suggested by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.* 1913, p. 53.

⁵ Bühler in his exhaustive article on it (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xix, pp. 382 ff.) has shown that it is an old work which was extant about 500 A. D.

⁶ See above, page 13.

⁷ Dr. Thomas (*J. R. A. S.* 1922, p. 82) says that one of these verses ascribed to Bhāsa was identified by Gaṇapati Sāstri in his edition of the *Mattavilāsa*, which is similar in structure to Bhāsa's works though I have not been able to find out that verse.

As to the *Pratimānātaka*, the mention of Medhātithi throws a doubt on its antiquity. It is said that this Medhātithi was some Vedic *rishi*, and to support the assumption it is stated that mention is made of the *Bārhaspatyam*, but the name of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* is not to be seen in this play. I think the futility of this point will become clear, if the speech of Rāvaṇa, where these names occur, is carefully analysed. Rāvaṇa is represented to be a braggart. He forgets the very *śāstras* of which he pretends to be the master, while praising himself. Further, while recommending some objects to Rāma for the performance of the *Śrāddha* rites he does not follow the *Dharma-śāstra*. Fearing that Rāma may find him out, he mixes up the authorities, and to confuse Rāma brings in cows, Vārdhrāṇas, and "golden" deer somehow. The existing law books do not support him. The *Vishṇusmṛti* recommends a cow for only a partial satisfaction,¹ but the *Manusmṛti* does not. Vārdhrāṇas is a cattle not a bird,² as recommended for the *Śrāddha* rites. The bird of this name may do for a *bali-dāna*³ only. What Rāvaṇa says is not supported by the *śāstra* he brags to be conversant with. The author makes him say so to show how hypocritical he is, and brings in Mārīcha in the form of a deer quite ingeniously to make Rāma leave the cottage and pursue the false deer. The talk of antique *śāstras* is to impress his importance upon Rāma. Kauṭilya, as a reference to Chapter II of the *Arthaśāstra* will show, knew of the *arthaśāstras*, viz., the *Mānava*, the *Bārhaspatya* and the *Auśanasa*. Rāvaṇa had already talked of the first, so he named the second and omitted the third purposely to hide his real character, as the School of *Uśanas* is meant for the *Rākshasas*. He did not mention Kauṭilya for his "crooked policy" as he was a Brāhmaṇa of a high character! Besides, there is no reason to assume that all the works he talked of really existed. At least, all are not known to us. I doubt if we know of the *Nyāya-śāstra* of Medhātithi, for instance. This argument is further vitiated by the verse—

उशना वेद यच्छास्तं यच्च वेद ब्रह्मस्यतिः ।
स्वभावादेव तत्सर्वं स्वोबुद्धौ संप्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

which is found in the *Hitopadeśa*. There is no mention here of Kauṭilya. Does it follow that the *Hitopadeśa* was written before Kauṭilya? Certainly not. I doubt if any importance could be attached to *argumentum ex silentio* or to the mention of more ancient names in such cases. As Medhātithi is spoken of in the *Pratimā*, so are the *śramaṇas* in some of these *nātakas*, for instance, in the *Pratijīma*, the *Avimāraka* or the *Chārudatta*. They appear certainly as Buddhist monks, and to explain away their mention in these plays by saying that Brahmanic treatises like the *Vaikhānasa-dharma-praśna*⁴ also talk of them, cannot hold good, for the latter speak of them as ascetics practising penance and not as the followers of Buddha. This and other similar arguments, occasionally advanced in support of the Bhāsa theory, do not require serious consideration and may be passed over.

Conclusion.—Thus, I think, I have examined here all the main arguments which have been brought forward in support of the Bhāsa theory and shown how hollow they

¹ S. B. E. LXXX, p. 249.

² Kullūka on Manu, III, 271.

³ See *Kālikāpurāṇa* quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma* under the word.

⁴ Introduction to *Pratimā*, p. XXXI.

are. They can by no means prove that Bhāsa was the real author of the thirteen Trivandrum plays. Arguing like the adherents of the Bhāsa theory one can ascribe these plays to Śaktibhadra, whose work entitled *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi*, as shown above, not only exhibits a close resemblance with them, but possesses most of the characteristics which are believed to be their distinguishing features, besides being a fairly old composition: I do not mean to say that they were actually written by Śaktibhadra or any of the authors of the works with which I have compared them in regard to their Prākrit or other points. What I hold and have tried to demonstrate here is that none of the arguments, adduced so far whether by the originator of the Bhāsa theory or by his supporters in India and abroad, will suffice, singly or collectively, to prove that Bhāsa, the ancient playwright, was their author. All these arguments are *atīyāptā* or wide of the mark, for they can equally well be applied to other plays, whose authors are known without any doubt. Their examination shows that we are still far from having solved the question about Bhāsa or the authorship of the Trivandrum plays, which must consequently be treated as an open one. The Trivandrum plays cannot be the work of Bhāsa. We must still hope for some lucky chance that may bring to light the real “*nātakachakra*” of Bhāsa so highly spoken of by writers like Rājasimha, Bāṇa or Kālidāsa, the immortal poet of India. So the Bhāsa theory has been a very pleasant illusion all this time, and I shall feel amply rewarded if what I have stated in these pages goes to disillusion its adherents, as it has done in my own case.

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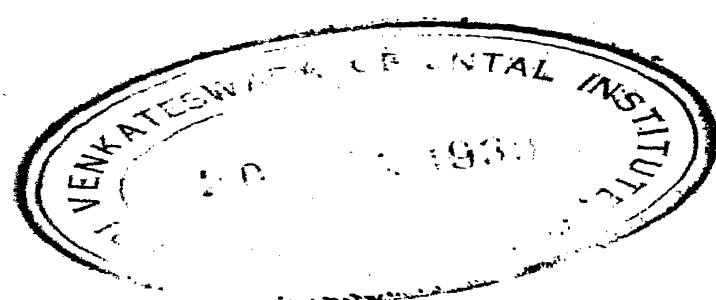
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